AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 124

Wisconsin – America's Dairyland No Longer

By Laurent Belsie

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BALDWIN, WIS.

WISCONSIN is the land of milk and ... milk.

It has more dairy cows than trucks, about as many dairy farms as retail stores. Milk and its byproducts pump some $10 billion into the state economy. No wonder state license plates read: "America's Dairyland."

Alas, Wisconsin is about to lose its crown. By mid-decade, California is expected to take over as the nation's top milk producer. And that prospect upsets some.

"Wisconsin is noted as America's dairyland," says Tommy Thompson, Wisconsin's governor and a dairy farmer himself. "We are not going to lose it."

But the trends are clear – so clear that dairy experts are urging Wisconsin farmers to make dramatic changes. To beat California, they say, Wisconsin has to become more like it.

"We've reached a point where we need to be looking at agriculture the same way we look at nonagriculture businesses," says Terry Smith of the University of Wisconsin Center for Dairy Profitability. "It's no longer the 'Green Acres' sort of image."

If television ever remade that popular comedy, it would be hard to find a setting more suitable than Wisconsin – or more unsuitable than California. In Wisconsin, the average herd is 53 cows. In California, it is about 475. When Wisconsin farmers are not milking, they are tending crops. California dairymen typically buy their feed and manage hired workers.

California has been gaining on Wisconsin for years. Three years ago, Cornell University economist Andrew Novakovic forecast California would take over around 2018. As late as 1990, Wisconsin still had a substantial lead: 24.4 billion pounds of milk to California's 20.9 billion.

Then Wisconsin stopped growing. Last year, it produced only 24.1 billion pounds while California moved up to 22.1 billion pounds. And California's growth came during the drought, Mr. Novakovic says. If the state resumes more normal growth, "California may become No. 1 before 1995."

See **WISCONSIN** *page 20*

BETTY PRESS

A FORMER SOLDIER, WITH CHILD: *Eritrea celebrates its independence from Ethiopia today, but many women soldiers worry that peace may allow a return of the patriarchal social structures that faded during the struggle for liberation.*

PEACE HAS ITS STRUGGLES

Eritrea's Women Fighters Face Difficult Transition

By Robert M. Press

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ASMARA, ERITREA

IN a small, crowded cafe, a woman soldier in an Army jacket and baggy slacks looks up as two Eritrean women in smart, colorful dresses and styled haircuts walk in. The fighter's eyes follow them.

For the women of Africa's youngest nation, the scene evokes former and future front lines. Although Eritrean women played a major role during the 30-year war for independence, they do not enjoy equal rights. As the nation celebrates its official independence day today, many women soldiers worry that peace may allow a return of the patriarchal social structures that faded during the struggle for liberation.

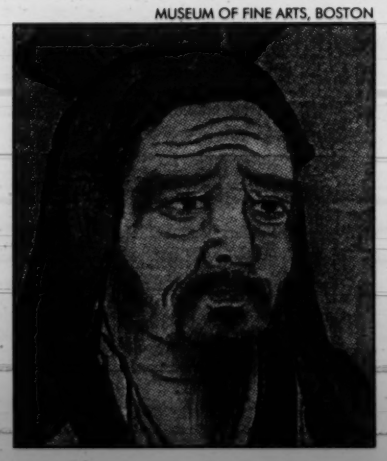
Women were allowed to vote in the April 23-25 referendum on independence and a few Cabinet seats are held by women. But only six of 131 members of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) central committee are women, and no women sit on the 19-member political committee, the nation's highest authority.

"A few women at the head doesn't mean anything," says Leteyesus Negassis, project coordinator for the National Union of Eritrean Women (NUEW), headquartered here.

After years of hardship in the trenches, Eritrea's female fighters worry about the unfamiliar challenges of civilian life. Most have been out of touch with the general society

See **ERITREA** *page 4*

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON



COVER STORY

China Rediscovers Traditional Values

As communism decays and capitalism grows, the Chinese reach for new values, and the teachings of the ancient sage Confucius are seen again as the foundation for ethical behavior.

10

Budget Vote Will Be Test For Clinton

Presidency may hang on quelling rebellion by moderate Democrats

By Marshall Ingwerson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton's drive to put a majority coalition back together behind his economic plan this week is the most difficult and politically treacherous task he has faced yet.

A defeat now would knock out the centerpiece of his agenda as president. It could so weaken his ability to lead, says one moderate Democrat, that "it could mean a couple years of Congress-led government." That means, the Democrat adds, a Congress that produces little.

Pulling off a victory now, on the other hand, would "replenish his political strength" and greatly improve his position for introducing his health-care plan, says Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, a centrist Democratic think tank.

The issue at hand that threatens to unravel Mr. Clinton's budget is the strong rejection last Thursday by key Senate Democrats of his energy tax proposal. If these senators, led by David Boren (D) of Oklahoma, can block the energy tax, that leaves Clinton with $72 billion over five years to make up in some other way to reach his deficit-cutting targets.

Strategists tell president that, to win, he must move the budget debate beyond taxes to jobs, spending cuts, and breaking Washington gridlock.

But the more basic problem for Clinton is that Republican arguments that his program is tax-heavy have so far won the battle for public opinion.

The moderate-to-conservative Democrats who have broken ranks in Congress reflect a public disillusion with Clinton that is especially concentrated among the 19 percent of voters that backed Ross Perot in the 1992 election. **(Prospects for compromise, Page 2.)**

In the modern presidency, says Democratic strategist Greg Schneiders, "your power, your leverage, is in nearly direct proportion to your poll numbers." Once Clinton's approval fell below 50 percent, he notes, it was "open season."

The challenge now, Mr. Schneiders says, is: "Can the president turn the public against his opponents?"

To accomplish that, Clinton is getting several different kinds of advice. All of them are strategies for moving the debate over his budget and economic plan out from under the cloud of taxes.

One is to shift the focus back to jobs. Pollster

See **CLINTON** *page 4*

Travel Office Flap Worsens Clinton's Press Relations

BETWEEN the president's runway haircut that kept two airplanes circling Los Angeles airport and the mass firings in the White House travel office, no public policy and very little public money are at stake in the issues that have dominated White House press briefings for the past week.

But the Clinton administration's never-comfortable relationship with the press has nose-dived to new levels of distrust and defensiveness.

White House spokesmen clearly have been stunned by the intense level of press concern about Wednesday's mass firing of the seven-member White House travel office.

Reporters, for their part, have been aggravated by daily revelations that further undercut the credibility of White House briefers.

White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers "behaved really in a reprehensible manner" on Wednesday, says Leo Rennert, Washington bureau chief of McClatchy News Service, when she made strong charges against the departing employees that went beyond the evidence the White House has produced.

"Dee Dee made a number of sweeping charges without much substantiation," says another reporter, who preferred to speak anonymously. But the evidence indicates "penny ante stuff so far," the reporter adds.

The bulk of the work of the nonpolitical White House travel office is to arrange the travel of the press corps covering the president. In firing the staff this week, Ms. Myers said the mismanagement of funds was so systemic that the whole staff was responsible and a criminal investigation was under way.

So far, the White House has documented discrepancies in the accounts of more than $18,000.

Over the past few days, however, evidence has emerged that friends and associates of the president and his aides have been pressing for months to gain access to the White House's travel business. That offers an alternative explanation for the firings.

THE credibility gap over the travel office only adds to the administration's press woes. From the beginning, Clinton staff members alienated the press by cutting off reporters from their traditional free access to the press secretary's office. The president also has sought to bypass the White House press corps and send his message directly to the country through town meetings and non-Washington news media. The atmosphere now "couldn't get any worse," says the reporter.

But does it matter much outside the cramped quarters of the White House briefing room?

Some in the press argue it doesn't. "Presidents rise and fall in the end on the substance of their records," says Carl Leubsdorff, Washington bureau chief of the Dallas Morning News. "Whether reporters liked President Bush, and a lot of them did, or whether they liked [Bush press secretary] Marlin Fitzwater, and most of them did, didn't keep Bush from losing the election."

But it helps the White House carry its message to the public if reporters believe its version of events, says Martha Kumar, a political scientist at Towson State University in Towson, Md., who is writing a book on the White House and the press.

As Myers's credibility has plummeted, she says, communications director George Stephanopoulos is tied even more tightly to the daily briefings that traditionally fall to the press secretary.

"This makes it more difficult for him ever to move into a long-range planning role," Dr. Kumar says.

– Marshall Ingwerson

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NATIONAL

As Congress gets ready to vote, president finds his $1.5 trillion package with no GOP support and dwindling backing from oil-state Democrats

Clinton Tax Increases Jeopardize Budget Plan

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

IT'S high noon for President Clinton's controversial $1.5 trillion federal budget, which he charges is threatened by the powerful "big oil lobby."

The Clinton plan, which includes the largest tax increase in American history, has failed to draw even a whisper of Republican support. Now, on the eve of the first crucial vote in Congress, it is losing Democratic allies as attacks intensify from oil-state senators.

Critics demand that the president scale back his tax increases, including energy taxes, which altogether total $272 billion over the next five years. They also want far greater spending cuts.

The president, sharply rebuffing critics, insists that his proposal will bolster the economy, while helping the working poor, children, and the elderly.

The House of Representatives votes first, probably Thursday. But as the decisive moment nears, Democrats are anxious. Their biggest concern: What if they raise taxes, and the federal deficit fails to fall?

A concerted drive to make the budget more palatable began weeks ago in the House. The effort recently spilled into the Senate, where it quickly gained momentum.

David Boren (D) of Oklahoma and Bennett Johnston (D) of Louisiana, two oil-patch senators, called for wiping out $71.5 billion in Clinton taxes on energy. They immediately got bipartisan help from Sen. John Danforth (R) of Missouri and Sen. William Cohen (R) of Maine.

A day later, two other Senate Democrats, J. James Exon and Bob Kerrey, both from Nebraska, announced their support for the "basic thrust" of the Boren-Johnston alternative.

Then Sen. John Breaux (D) of Louisiana, despite a personal meeting with Mr. Clinton, revealed that he was developing his own alternative to the president's energy tax.

The White House has not flinched. Roger Altman, the deputy treasury secretary, insists that the Clinton budget will survive Congress intact.

Yet compromise is in the air. Over the weekend, Mr. Boren said he would gladly powwow with the administration to reach an amicable settlement. Boren was adamant, however, that any budget must meet three criteria that could be difficult for the White House to accept. It should:

■ Be bipartisan. Boren's plan has already drawn Republican support in the Senate, while Clinton's budget has attracted none. Calling this a "critical point in our country's history," Boren spoke of the need to reach out to the GOP.

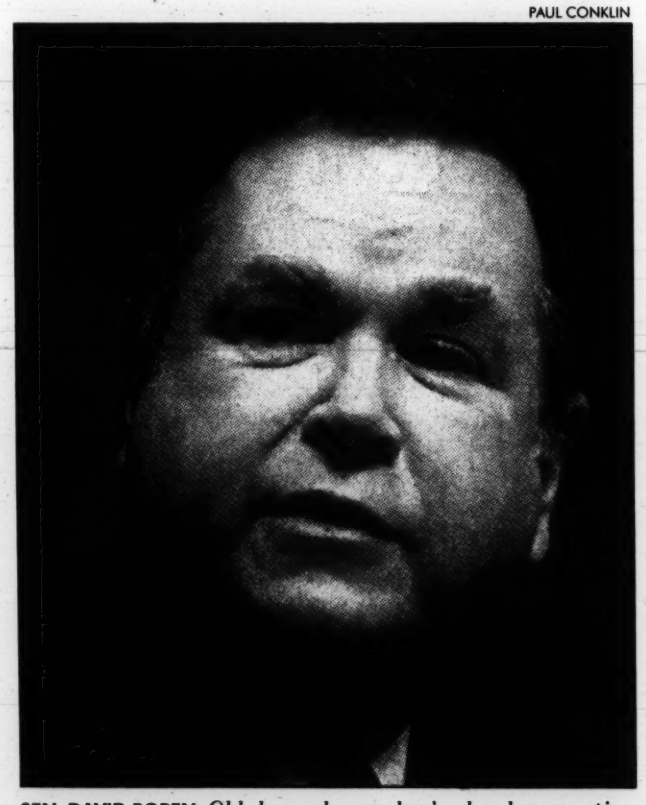
"This is not a political game," he said. "It's not about whether Democrats can beat Republicans or Republicans can beat Democrats. The time for childish partisan games is past."

■ Favor spending cuts over new taxes. Boren notes that the White House plan contains about $1 in spending cuts for every $1 in new taxes. He says the American people think that's not good enough.

The senator recalls that during the 1992 campaign, candidate Clinton vowed that he would achieve $3 in cuts for every $1 in new taxes. The Boren plan has a ratio of $2.20 in cuts for every $1 in new taxes.

■ Curtail entitlement spending. Entitlements go up automatically under current law. These programs, which include Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and benefit programs for federal retirees, have rapidly grown to 46 percent of all government outlays.

PAUL CONKLIN



SEN. DAVID BOREN: *Oklahoma lawmaker's plan has a ratio of $2.20 in cuts for every $1 in new taxes. The proposal has drawn Republican support in the Senate.*

To avoid national bankruptcy, Boren insists that entitlement controls be imposed immediately. That includes a smaller cost-of-living allowance (COLA, minus 2 percent) for any Social Security recipient getting more than $600 a month.

Boren says all of these steps are necessary to stop the uncontrolled growth of the national debt, which is currently $4.2 trillion. Unless drastic action is taken, interest alone on the debt will rise to 25 percent of all federal spending by 2000, Boren predicts.

Mr. Johnston declares that Clinton's energy tax already "is dead" in the Senate. Many analysts agree.

Yet, in the House, which will vote first, Democratic leaders are expected to offer the Clinton package virtually "as is."

Most Democratic members, out of loyalty, may vote for Clinton's tax package, including the energy portion, even though the Senate could kill it.

Republicans are gleeful. A "yes" vote would put more than 200 Democrats on record in favor of higher taxes on gasoline, home-heating fuel, electricity, and other costs that would come out of every American's pocket.

It's just the kind of economic issue Republicans relish for the next election.

Competing Compromises on Gays in Military

Nunn, Frank present options to the Pentagon that would allow homosexuals to serve

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE Washington debate over allowing homosexuals in the military is becoming a battle of the multiple "don't" compromises.

On one side is the "don't ask, don't tell" plan favored by Sen. Sam Nunn (D) of Georgia and some other key lawmakers. Under this approach, military recruits would no longer be asked about their sexual orientation. Yet openly gay personnel could still be dismissed from the service.

On the other side is a plan put forward by Rep. Barney Frank (D) of Massachusetts that might be characterized as "don't ask, don't tell, don't investigate." Mr. Frank, one of two openly gay members of Congress, proposes that gays be required to remain silent about their status while on duty. Off-base, however, they would be allowed to be openly homosexual without fear of losing their jobs.

Frank has been criticized by homosexual-rights activists for offering something short of what President Clinton promised during the campaign: a flat lifting of the ban on gays in the armed forces. But as Frank has pointed out, sentiment in Congress is running strongly against Mr. Clinton and gay rights at the moment.

Though Frank and Senator Nunn have moved the poles of the debate somewhat closer together, there is still a large gulf between their positions. The "compromise" inherent in their plans thus may be less profound than it seems.

Neither side offers much detail on rules of conduct that could be crucial to policy interpretation. Under "don't ask, don't tell," for instance, what would happen if a slip of the tongue revealed a member of the military as gay? Would they still be dismissed, even if they otherwise concealed their orientation?

At the heart of the proposal by Nunn and others is the belief that if members of the military find out one of their fellows is gay, it will cause unacceptable disruption. Knowledge is thus the key issue.

At the heart of Frank's proposal is the belief that flagrant behavior on duty would be the real problem. The key issue is thus not the knowledge of others, but a gay person's own conduct – a big difference in moral, philosophical, and practical terms.

But "don't ask, don't tell, don't investigate" offers problems perhaps even greater than Nunn's plan. Where does duty end and private life begin?

Some military officials do not feel that Frank's distinction between off-duty and on-duty can be fairly made. Members of the armed forces, they point out, are subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice wherever they are. Many young members of the military live on-base in barracks. "You're a soldier 24 hours a day," says a well-placed military official.

The "don't ask, don't tell" approach is one many people in the Pentagon favor. "We can live with that," says the military source. Yet as this official points out, some aspects of this plan simply return matters to the way they were years ago. It was only about a decade ago, under Carter-era directives, that the military began asking recruits about sexual orientation.

The Clinton administration itself remains pointedly silent on the issue. One reason Frank acted, he says, is the belief that political time was running out and that the conservative side, led by Nunn, was the only one playing.

A Pentagon task force drawing up a policy recommendation on gays in the military for Secretary of Defense Les Aspin has reached the point of laying out a range of preferred options, according to sources.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

LEFTOVER SIGNS OF PROTEST: *Placards from April 25 gay march in Washington, D.C., urge end to military ban on homosexuals.*

One Oklahoma Lawmaker Backs Energy Tax

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

IT'S not hard to understand why two Oklahomans – Sen. David Boren and Rep. David McCurdy – are among the most vocal Democrats fighting President Clinton's proposed energy tax: Almost one-third of their state's workers owe their employment to high-energy industry or to energy production itself.

Oklahoma polls show overwhelming opposition to the tax, which is based on the heat content or British thermal units (Btu) of most forms of energy. A study by the University of Oklahoma claims that the Btu tax would cost the state 11,000 jobs, raise the average Oklahoman's monthly energy bill by $180, and cut the value of farmland by $1 billion.

So what's Rep. Mike Synar, a Democrat who represents Oklahoma's second district, including Tulsa and Muskogee, doing supporting the energy tax?

"Well, first of all, nobody likes taxes," Mr. Synar says. "The fact is, if you look at all the taxes that were [considered], including the carbon tax, the gasoline tax, and the VAT tax, the Btu tax fits the bill for what has been the driving theme of the Clinton economic program: one, honesty in the numbers of revenues, and two, it fairly distributes the burden."

Mr. Clinton is counting on the energy tax to bring in $70 billion over five years, making it a cornerstone of his deficit-reduction plan. But it is only part of the package, and Synar says, "Oklahomans are willing to make a reasonable sacrifice."

"My constituents are telling me to support the president," he adds.

In his eighth term in Congress, Synar has made a career of going against special interests, such as the tobacco industry. He accepts no contributions from political action committees. And as chairman of the House of Representatives' liberal Democratic Study Group, his name is at the top of numerous reports supporting Clinton's plan.

But is he leaving himself vulnerable for the next election? After all, he barely survived a tough primary race last November, in which the National Rifle Association alone kicked in $500,000 to oppose him, Synar's office reports. And Washington lobby groups have organized rallies, postcard campaigns, and phone-ins aimed namely at Mr. Boren, a swing vote on the Senate's tax-writing committee.

Jeff Nesbitt of Citizens for a Sound Economy, one of the Washington groups active in Oklahoma, says CSE is not targeting Synar. But, stresses the former director of communications for ex-Vice President Quayle, groups like his are not creating a reaction, they are organizing feeling that is already there.

Synar rejects the notion that Boren and McCurdy are responding to their constituents.

"It's the industries themselves," he states. "Very candidly, these are the same groups that walked us from $1 trillion to $4 trillion in debt. It's a little disingenuous for them to come back now and say they've got a better solution."

"If you look at the mail coming into our office, it's all orchestrated – pre-perforated postcards from groups that have been lied to about the impact of the tax."

Ueberroth Resigns From Rebuild L.A.

FORMER baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth has resigned as co-chairman of Rebuild L.A., an organization created to revive riot-torn areas of the city.

"I think this organization is a little too identified with me," Mr. Ueberroth said Friday. "It's important for this organization, as it grows in year two, that the focus should be different than a focus on Pete Ueberroth."

Ueberroth said he will remain on the board of Rebuild L.A. to recruit private investment in riot-damaged neighborhoods, but the group will be led by the four remaining co-chairs.

During Rebuild L.A.'s first year of operation, businesses pledged $450 million to create jobs and jumpstart the economy in impoverished areas ravaged by arson and looting. But Ueberroth, the best known of the co-chairs, also spent much of his time deflecting community and media criticism that the organization was moving too slowly and failing to address riot victims' needs.

Some critics noted that Ueberroth is a wealthy white Republican from the suburbs. The remaining co-chairs include a black, a Hispanic-American, an Asian-American, and a white.

Rush for cookies

The bake sale billed as Rushstock '93 became a mass right-wing happening Saturday when thousands gathered to honor radio gadfly Rush Limbaugh and to buy a cookie for conservatism.

At least 20,000 people packed Old Town Square in Fort Collins, Colo., standing shoulder-to-shoulder across the brick street and outlasting a brief hailstorm to cheer Mr. Limbaugh's arrival.

"This is exactly how I thought it would be," said Limbaugh, the nation's No. 1 radio talk-show host. "I see happy people."

The gathering grew out of Dan Kay's desire for a subscription to a newsletter put out by Limbaugh, who regularly bashes "feminazis," Hillary Clinton, "environmental wackos," homeless advocates, and the liberal media in his nationwide syndicated talk show.

"The Rush Limbaugh Show" has about 18 million listeners nationwide.

Last March, Mr. Kay told Limbaugh during his program that he was receiving copies of the newsletter from a friend in Oregon. He said he could not afford the $29.95 subscription, so Limbaugh suggested Kay hold a bake sale. The tumultuous Rushstock '93 was the result.

– Compiled by Max Boot

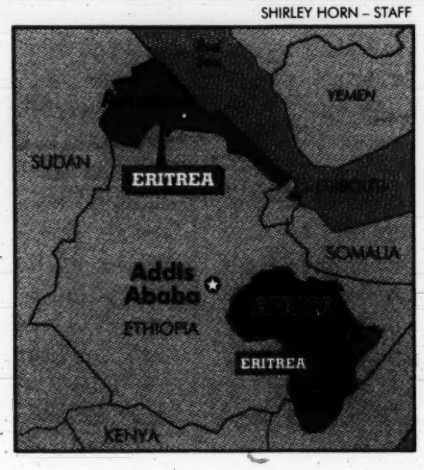
ERITREA from page 1

for more than a decade. Most have little education. The government lacks the funds to train them for new jobs.

From 1961 to 1991 Eritreans fought a grueling war against the Ethiopian Army, which, backed at different times by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Israel, was one of the best-equipped in Africa.

Pressed to the limit, the EPLF put women in fatigues and sent them into combat – lots of combat. About 35 percent of the frontline soldiers were women, according to Roy Patemen, a professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles. Women also served as doctors, village organizers, and administrators.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



Of the current 100,000-strong Eritrean Army, roughly 20,000 are women. But that is about to change. The EPLF-run government plans to demobilize about two-thirds of its Army, including nearly 10,000 women. So far, some 300 to 400 military women have been reassigned to civilians jobs.

Abrehet Yemane is a veteran of 15 major battles. She spent eight years in Ethiopia's infamous Alem Bekach prison, known by inmates as the "End of the World." Inmates received only three pieces of bread a day, and no blankets or clothing, she says. Friends on the outside had to supply food and basic necessities.

Today she sits behind a wooden desk in a small, ground-floor office at NUEW, helping women fighters make the transition to civilian life. A dress has replaced the fatigues she once wore. Eritrea's women warriors, Ms. Yemane says, have a right to be proud of their war records.

"They have confidence: 'I'm a fighter; I did something for my country,' " she explains. "But as human beings ... they must compete in jobs, in their appearance.

"Their choices in the field were very limited. In the city, the choices are so wide. Most are peasants. To do like city girls, you must know [city life]. It's not a problem of economics, but culture," she says.

During the war, as the EPLF gradually expanded the area under its control, women fighters began filling vital roles in more and more villages, protecting the residents and offering basic health and education services.

Through such work, many women soldiers found themselves nudging an ancient, tradition-bound society toward a new appraisal of the worth of women. Not only could they cook, haul water, and have babies, but they could shoot, command men, and help run a country.

"We are confident and independent," says Senait Iyob, who spent 13 years in active service in the military, starting in 1978. She sits in the living room of her family's apartment with a sister, Salome, who also fought in the war. After life in the military, Senait says, traditions such as arranged marriage and male-run families are unacceptable.

"You wanted to have your gun, and shoot, and give your life for it [your country]. It's not because you want to kill," she says of her decision to join before finishing high school.

Today Senait works for Eritrean Television and wants to go to university to study journalism. "We sacrificed our youth, our education," she says with a quiet intensity.

She and Salome are finishing their high school education in a crowded night class here, packed with ex-fighters and others their age wanting to redirect their lives now that peace has been gained. "Inside I feel as if I were 17 years old," Senait says.

Salome has a government job publishing school books. She's bored. "I have a lot of ideas," she says. "I'd like to change my profession to something which motivates my mind – maybe study anthropology."

But the obstacles are many. Education and child care – Salome has two young sons – require money. Fighters earn only $10 a month plus $1 for every year of service. Still in the military, Salome and Senait receive about $25 a month between them. Lack of money also crimps any efforts to look less like a fighter.

BETTY PRESS

KHADIJAH NAIB: *A former soldier, she now gets help from an organization that helps women make the transition to civilian life.*

"Everyone presses you to dress like a woman," says Senait. "The problem is, you are very poor." She says her family has gotten some extra help from their sister Ruth, a post-doctorate fellow in political science at Emory University in Decatur, Ga. Ruth Iyob argues for international financial aid to help the government train women fighters for civilian jobs and to provide day care for working mothers, something they got during the war.

Split families are another problem. During the war years, many married couples joined the EPLF, only to end up divorced or separated. Senait is divorced and has a young son. Salome is separated from her husband.

"People lived apart, and you had only one month vacation a year," says Khadija Naib, another woman fighter at NUEW.

CLINTON from page 1

Celinda Lake, who worked for Clinton during the campaign, argues that the job-creation aspect of the economic plan has been lost to the charge that it includes the highest tax increase in history. The jobs argument is especially potent among Perot voters, Ms. Lake says.

Another basic strategy is to focus on spending cuts. This is the view of many centrist Democrats. If the White House can come in with a compromise on the energy tax that involves further spending cuts, it can pick up further support both on Capitol Hill and from the public, they argue.

Clinton has already taken this advice, at least rhetorically, by stressing in the last couple of weeks his spending cuts and deficit cuts. He also has proposed a deficit-reduction trust fund to guarantee that new savings and taxes go to that purpose. In fact, however, Clinton's economic plan leans more heavily on new taxes than on spending cuts.

Clinton has also clearly been listening to those urging him to return to a strong appeal for "fairness" in taxes. Lake notes from her survey work that middle-class voters have a highly exaggerated view of how much the Clinton plan would raise their taxes. Clinton needs to make the case that the wealthy will pay the vast majority of the tax increase, she says.

Democrats are generally unanimous in urging Clinton as well to make an argument against gridlock, that government needs to enact his program to take some action against long-standing problems. "I think that resonates across the electorate," Mr. Marshall says. "It shifts the argument from the ideological terrain of tax and spend to the larger question of governance."

"Voters are increasingly concerned that nothing's going to happen," Lake says.

Lawmakers are concerned that the Clinton program will pass, and then nothing will happen. The great danger is a repeat of the budget deal of 1990, where taxes were raised, spending cut, and the deficit climbed anyway.

"What members are terrified of is facing the electorate in 1994 and 1996 without any real deficit reduction to show for it," Marshall says.

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An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

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Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.

ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.

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Clinton in New Hampshire – 'Not a Person to Waste'

STRATHAM, N.H.

ALONG with the usual Saturday morning yard-sale signs, Route 101 winding through the New Hampshire town of Stratham was lined with messages like: "Welcome Mr. President," "We're counting on you, Bill," and "Mr. President. Our haircuts cost $12."

The reference to last week's haircut on a Los Angeles tarmac was not the image President Clinton sought to affirm on this day. His decision to deliver the first graduation address of his presidency not to an Ivy League college or big state university but to a small technical college with a graduating class of 164 students was deliberate. And graduating students at New Hampshire Technical College at Stratham appreciated it.

"If [the president] wanted to address those who do the work of this nation, who make the products, run the hospitals, who service the public, he has come to the right place," said university president Jane Power Kilcoyne.

Mr. Clinton's message – "We don't have a person to waste" – played well here. He said: "For the majority of people who do not go on to a four-year college, it is imperative that we join the ranks of the other high-wage countries and provide a system by which 100 percent of them at least know they have the opportunity to move into a program like the one that you have been a part of."

Graduating student Greg Fuller, who first invited Clinton to the graduation ceremony during a campaign swing last year, dismissed criticism of the president's first 100 days. "I think we live in a microwave, instant-gratification society, and I think the things that are important don't happen quickly.... The press makes a lot of 100 days, but it's the long term that counts."

John Broderick and Terry Shumaker, co-chairmen of Clinton's campaign in New Hampshire last year, urged a similar reading of the day. "He's a phenomenal person. The only mistake you can make is underestimating this guy," Mr. Broderick said.

– Gail Russell Chaddock

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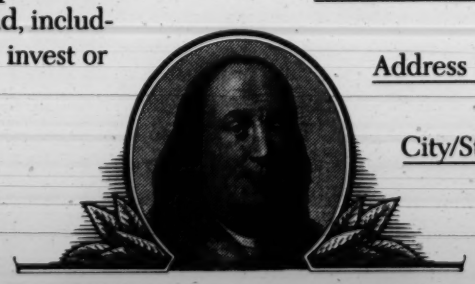

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OPTING FOR 'SAFE HAVENS'

UN Considers Bosnia Steps To Carry Out Allied Policy

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE allied decision this weekend on a unified policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina has paved the way for several key actions at the United Nations aimed at stopping the war in the former Yugoslav republic.

The Security Council is expected today to pass a resolution setting up a war crimes tribunal in the former Yugoslavia. On Tuesday the Council is expected to take up a resolution to place UN guards on the border between Serbia and Bosnia. The Council also will consider this week a resolution setting up "safe havens" for Bosnians, called for in this weekend's unified policy, to be patrolled by thousands of the UN peacekeepers. And the Bosnian government has asked for an immediate Security Council meeting on the war.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher met with the foreign ministers of France, Britain, Spain, and Russia on Saturday in Washington. Among other things, the leaders agreed to seek the establishment of safe havens in six Muslim enclaves in Bosnia and to post monitors on the Serbian-Bosnian border. If requested, the United States has agreed to supply air power to protect the peacekeepers.

The leaders did not endorse President Clinton's proposal to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims or to use force. But "the meetings overcome the impression there is no coherence or strategy," a UN diplomat says.

Analysts believe the allied effort also means the Vance-Owen peace plan is not likely to succeed. Under the Vance-Owen plan, Bosnia would be a multi-ethnic country. By recognizing safe havens, the US and the other foreign ministers appear to be allowing the Serbs to hold land they acquired by force and overlook ethnic cleansing.

"I think the international community is trying to pacify what is left," says Kenneth Jensen, director of research and studies at the US Institute of Peace in Washington. "I think the international community has given up on trying to get back the 70 percent of the land in Serbian hands. If things change, fine, if not we keep the aggressive Serbs out of the other 30 percent," he adds.

The most controversial issue faced over the weekend is setting up the so-called safe havens. Only two weeks ago, Christopher said he was opposed to such zones. And on Friday, President Clinton indicated he was not enthusiastic about the plan, and he said he was not inclined to volunteer US troops to protect UN peace keepers.

The Europeans and the Russians, however, are keen to set up these areas in an attempt to stop the fighting. The allies are terming the havens part of the "progressive implementation" of the Vance-Owen peace plan. Christopher said the foreign ministers had agreed to enforce "tight and tough sanctions" against Yugoslavia until the Bosnian Serbs withdraw from areas occupied by force.

The negotiators themselves, now in Geneva, are cautious about the term "progressive implementation."

"If by progressive implementation they mean pick and choose among elements of the plan that you want to implement and forget the rest then the negotiators don't agree with that," says Fred Eckhard, the spokesman for Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, who are trying to negotiate the peace plan. Mr. Stoltenberg replaced Cyrus Vance as the UN's mediator.

This weekend's policy on Bosnia reached in Washington 'overcomes the impression there is no coherence or strategy'
– UN diplomat

Some analysts believe the safe havens are a mistake. "They enhance the possibility of ethnic cleansing. Once people know a safe zone exists, their inclination is to go toward it," says John Bolton, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute in Washington and a former State Department official under President Bush. Reports from Bosnia appear to bear Mr. Bolton out. Bosnia is becoming three different countries: Serbian, Croatian and Muslim.

It is unclear how the UN resolutions can actually be carried out. For example, the war crimes tribunal can be set up, but it will require that the Bosnian Serbs, Muslims or Croatians hand over people named by the tribunal. Without the defendants, the trials could be criticized for not being fair.

"One of the reasons we did not hold a war crimes trial for Saddam Hussein is we could not get hold of the principal defendants," Bolton says.

In an interview last December with the Monitor, former Nuremberg prosecutor Telford Taylor said he believes there is sufficient evidence to have a war crimes trial. He adds, however, that "you have to find the people who have the power and wish to do it."

Posting guards on the Bosnian-Serbian border will be a test of wills. The guards would insure that the Serbian promise to cut off the supply of arms to the Bosnian Serbs is carried out. The President of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, said Friday the posting of such guards would violate his country's sovereignty.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd hopes the Russian involvement will help to convince the Serbians to cooperate. The Russians carry a lot of weight with the Serbs, he pointed out.

INTERNATIONAL

Venezuela's Leader Steps Down After Court's Indictment

By Victoria Colliver
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

MINUTES after the Venezuelan Supreme Court voted to try President Carlos Andrés Pérez on corruption charges, presidential officials noticed the flag over the Miraflores palace had ripped, leaving a gaping hole in the tricolored banner.

But the hole in the presidency itself – left by Friday's unprecedented ouster of the 70-year-old leader – has set the entire country on edge and the future of the chief executive in limbo.

Venezuelans like to think of themselves as above political scandal. The second largest supplier of crude oil to the United States, Venezuela has enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the region and a reputation as a model of democracy in South America.

But the country's recent history has chipped away at that distinction. There were two military coups last year, worldwide oil prices continued to fall, the value of the currency declined, and inflation rates continued to rise, which led to demonstrations and strikes and pulled half the population below the poverty level.

The 49-member Senate on Friday unanimously confirmed the Supreme Court's decision to try the president and two of his former Cabinet members on charges of embezzlement and misuse of public funds involving $17.5 million. The trio is accused of taking the money in 1989 from the president's "secret fund" and exchanging it into preferential US dollars at the country's Central Bank.

The decision may mark the end of the impressive, yet beleaguered political career of Carlos Andrés Pérez. On Friday, he was forced by law to step down from his post, marking the first time in Venezuela's history a president has had to resign amid corruption charges.

The presidency temporarily passed to the head of Congress, but now politicians and analysts are debating the details of the judicial process, whether Pérez could resume his position if found innocent, and who should serve in his place.

Most Venezuelans applauded the decision to suspend the unpopular leader, who has become a symbol of the political and economic corruption that has invaded the country in recent years.

The politically shrewd president enjoyed high approval ratings during his first presidency in the oil rich years of the '70s, but plummeted in popularity in his second term after instituting economic austerity measures and aggressive privatization plans to sell off money-losing public enterprises.

People still remember the riots over price hikes in February 1989 that left an estimated 400 dead said Sandro Oramas, an anthropologist here.

"People are curious to see if we can solve this in a peaceful, democratic way," he says. "Venezuela has been one of the longest standing democracies [in Latin America] – more than 30 years. And people are trying to keep it that way."

Even though people reacted with relative calm, tension hangs over the country because Pérez's suspension leaves open another gaping hole: Who will be president for the remaining nine months of the term? Elections are scheduled for February 1994.

In accordance with the Constitution, Congressional President Octavio Lepage was sworn in Friday to fill the post for at least 30 days until the Congress picks someone to serve until February 1994.

The suspension also leaves the state of Pérez's Cabinet unclear. His Cabinet, in a meeting last week, agreed to resign if the Senate approved the indictment. But efforts have been made to avoid paralyzing the entire government. Pérez, according to local newspapers, has asked that the resignations not be effective immediately, and some of the Cabinet members reportedly said they were willing to cooperate with Lepage.

CARLOS HERNANDEZ/REUTERS

CARLOS ANDRÉS PÉREZ: *The Supreme Court voted to indict him on corruption charges.*

The power exchange boosted the stock market nearly 4 percent. Juan Domingo Cordero, president of the Ibero-American Federation of Stock Exchanges, told The Daily Journal newspaper, "This is an action that stabilizes the political situation.... Consequently, it should be expected for the market to rise, for interest rates to drop, and for the dollar pressure to ease."

Clusters of people crowded between the congressional building and City Hall in downtown Caracas Friday afternoon awaiting the announcement of the Senate's decision. After the vote, Lepage, in his new capacity as president, hurried to slip into a waiting car and was greeted by polite applause.

One man chuckled at the seemingly lukewarm response. "They don't like him either," he said.

Yugoslav Army Brass Challenges Milosevic

Serbian president calls probe of top general to placate hard-liners angered by his decision to back UN peace plan

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

THE highest general of the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army is under investigation for alleged corruption and nepotism in an unprecedented scandal that is rocking the political and military hierarchies of the Serbia-Montenegro union.

Col. Gen. Zivota Panic, the Yugoslav Army chief of staff, denies the allegations, the most serious of which are that he arranged to have his son supply the military with potatoes, toilet paper, and other goods at prices higher than those set by the state.

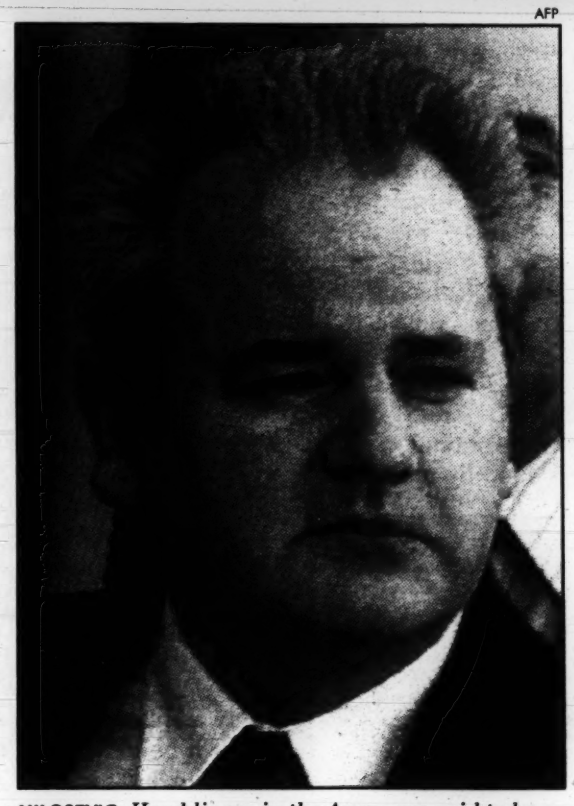
Political analysts believe that whatever the veracity of the charges, deeper motives are at work in the case. The timing of the allegations, the extraordinary way in which they emerged, and the targeting of the chief of an officer corps in which corruption is reputedly rife leave no question that an intense power struggle is under way, analysts say.

With the rarified heights of the Yugoslav military still a highly secretive and privileged world, there is considerable disagreement over the precise alignment of the sides in contention.

The majority view is that President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia is battling for political dominance with hard-line Serb nationalist generals angered by his decision to back the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina and shut off military aid to the Bosnian Serbs. "Milosevic has switched policy and the generals are not necessarily following him," says Stefan Niksic, a commentator. "He needs the Army to obey his rules and cut all relations with the Bosnian Serbs."

The hard-liners, most analysts say, are following Vojislav Seselj, a suspected war criminal and leader of the ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical Party, Serbia's number two party. Mr. Seselj has emerged as the main critic of Mr. Milosevic's "betrayal" of the Bosnian Serbs' goal of securing a self-declared state and merging it with the rump Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro.

Seselj was the first to accuse General Panic, who backs the peace plan, of corruption. His persistent repetition of the charges forced the government last week to form a state investigation commission. "By attacking Panic, Seselj is attacking Milosevic and [Yugoslav President Dobrica] Cosic," says Aleksandar Vasevic, a reporter for independent B-92 Radio who maintains contacts in the Army.



AFP

MILOSEVIC: *Hard-liners in the Army are said to be following ultra-nationalist Vojislav Seselj, the main critic of Milosevic's 'betrayal' of the Bosnian Serbs.*

Mihailo Markovic, a senior member of Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), agrees that Seselj's allegations about Panic could only have been made with inside information from the highest ranks of the Army.

"Seselj probably already had some officers in the Army, at least some contact with them, because it is strange how he has some information which almost nobody else has," Mr. Markovic says.

He says a "considerable majority of generals" opposes Milosevic's new policy on Bosnia. But he denies that Milosevic faces an imminent threat to his grip on power because most people in Serbia support his apparent desire to end the economic drain resulting from UN sanctions.

Markovic says Seselj has not decided to withdraw the support his party provides to minority SPS governments at the Yugoslav federal and Serbian Republic levels. "But this might be a matter for the future. Mr. Milosevic and the socialists are not in such a stable situation now after accepting the Vance-Owen plan as they were before," he says.

Some analysts warned against accepting that contention. They believe the conflict within the military is a consequence of natural rivalries between ambitious commanders seeking to move up in an Army still beset by turmoil from the collapse of former Yugoslavia.

Milosevic, these analysts say, is allowing the contest to rage to enhance the impression that he is under threat so that the international community does not press him to move too fast in coercing the Bosnian Serbs to end the war.

"I don't think we should go for the bait," a Western diplomat warns. "It would be better to let this play out so we could see who we are dealing with instead of this façade." Most observers speculate that senior generals, led by Gen. Bozidar Stefanovic, the air-force chief and a known nationalist, want to replace Panic with one of their own to force Milosevic to curtail his new policy.

ANALYSTS cite the chain of events that preceded the announcement of the investigation of Panic. Immediately after Milosevic endorsed the peace plan, two hard-line generals were forced to retire, including Gen. Nedeljko Boskovic, who headed military counter-intelligence, which is widely regarded as the coordinating center for aid to the Bosnian Serbs.

Seselj denounced the dismissals, saying they were ordered by the regime because General Boskovic was his prime source for confidential information inside the Army. Boskovic later said he had "no personal connections" with Seselj.

In an apparent counter-strike, Boskovic, General Stefanovic, and Branko Kostic, a former Yugoslav vice president who opposes the peace plan, were accused in a court suit of misusing their power, revealing military secrets, theft, and other charges.

The suit was filed by a group of senior military officers who were recently exonerated of espionage, sedition, and other charges in a case widely seen as a bid by Boskovic and Stefanovic to take unrivaled control of all military intelligence operations. That suit was quickly followed by Seselj's charges against Panic.

The Army general staff then issued a denial of the allegations in which it confirmed that Boskovic had been Seselj's mole and accused the radical leader of seeking to topple the leadership of the Army and the state.

The most probable outcome will be a stalemate, analysts say, now that the international community appears to be backing away from the Vance-Owen plan. Milosevic will almost certainly oust Panic to placate the hard-liners, they say.

"The top generals ... can threaten, but they can't do anything more in terms of endangering Milosevic," says Mr. Vasevic, the radio reporter. "The only force that could do that is the police, and they are with Milosevic."

Ukrainian Government-Parliament Row Mirrors Russia's

By Chrystyna Lapychak
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

KIEV, UKRAINE

A CHAOTIC attempt by Ukraine's political leadership to shift economic reforms into high gear has resulted in the effort being thrown into reverse.

During four days of stormy debate last week, the conservative-dominated Parliament rejected separate requests from Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and President Leonid Kravchuk for extraordinary powers, including the right to legislate by decree, with the aim of speeding up reforms.

Mr. Kuchma had ruled since last November with special powers that gave him broad authority over the economy. By refusing to extend the premier's powers for another six-month period, the legislature – elected during the Soviet era under rules established by the Communist Party – effectively wiped out a half-year of reform work.

Kuchma tendered his resignation after failing to gain the six-month special powers extension. But the legislature rejected his resignation, leaving him to preside over a lame-duck Cabinet.

Mr. Kravchuk, meanwhile, met with a similar rebuff when he stunned members of Parliament with a request to reorganize the executive branch. Kravchuk sought to eliminate the post of premier and boost presidential authority. But Parliament agreed only to give Kravchuk authority to issue decrees in economic spheres not covered by existing legislation.

The end result of all the parliamentary gyrations last week was a return to the situation of November 1992, when reforms were paralyzed by political gridlock.

"What happened here is likely to occur every day from now on," Kuchma told reporters after Friday's legislative session. "[President Boris] Yeltsin is fighting the same battle in Russia. It's absurd."

The domestic political turmoil will have international ramifications. Because of the legislature's preoccupation with internal matters, debate on ratifying of nuclear disarmament treaties, particularly the START I pact signed between the then Soviet Union and the United States, has been postponed until June. Ukraine is one of four former Soviet republics with nuclear weapons.

Reformers in the Ukrainian Cabinet now warn of dire economic consequences. The Parliament threatens to not only block future reform measures, but may also attempt to restore some aspects of a planned economy, reformers say.

Indeed, after rejecting the special power bids, the Parliament voted for a minimum wage hike to compensate for rising prices, as well as for an open credit line to the struggling agricultural sector – hard hit by high energy costs. The moves undid months of government fiscal austerity measures, creating inflationary pressure by increasing the money supply.

That doesn't augur well for economic recovery. The sluggish pace of reforms to date has left Ukraine on the brink of economic collapse. Even with special powers, Kuchma's government had only limited success with reform. Inflation dropped slightly during his tenure – from 50 percent a month to 30 percent – but privatization never got on track.

Rules Are Rules, Australia Tells Northwest Airlines

By Catherine Foster
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

TRADE frictions between Australia and the United States are growing. It is not just the sugar, dairy, and wheat farmers that are angry; now airlines are getting involved.

A dispute between US carrier Northwest Airlines and the Australian government has escalated to the point where both sides are prepared to impose sanctions on each other's airlines.

The Australian Department of Transport and Communications (DOTAC) says it will revoke Northwest's right to stop in Sydney as part of its thrice-weekly New York/Osaka/Sydney service on May 30 unless it refiles its application. Northwest would then be allowed only two flights a week. The department made the announcement in January, saying the airline breached an agreement requiring that no more than 50 percent of the passengers originate in Osaka. The two flights would also be required to conform to the 50-percent rule.

The US Department of Transportation said May 8 that if Australia imposes sanctions, the US will require Qantas Airlines to reduce its Sydney-Los Angeles nonstop flights from 10 to 7.

The flap is raising tempers in both countries. "I haven't heard as many hard-ball attitudes from American trade officials in a long time," says Bruce Wolpe, a Sydney political consultant. "The US is very strong in protecting rights of US carriers."

Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser calls for rethinking US-Australian strategic ties. "It is no longer realistic for us to be their closest friend and ally on strategic matters, but to be treated as an enemy in matters of trade and economics," he wrote in the Australian.

Behind the dispute, analysts say, is competition over the lucrative North Pacific market. Everyone wants a share of it, especially the limited slots at Japanese airports. Some speculate that Qantas wants to stabilize itself financially before issuing new stock.

It also comes at a sensitive time for the US airline industry, which is the world's most competitive but dependent on bilateral deals for access to foreign markets. A number of foreign governments are talking of revisions in their agreements to limit US access.

"We would have preferred to resolve this dispute through negotiations," said US Transportation Secretary Federico Pena. "But the Australian government's latest threatened actions would further deprive Northwest of its rights under our bilateral agreement and would leave us no other course" than retaliation.

Northwest is taking DOTAC to Australian federal court in June.

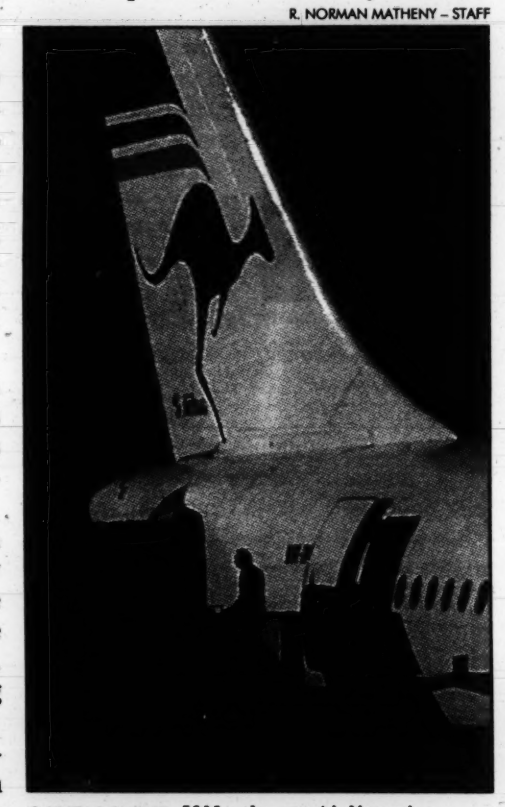
It all started in 1991 when Northwest Airlines wanted to enter the North Pacific market by offering service between New York and Sydney via Osaka.

According to David Mishkin, senior vice president for Northwest's international and regulatory affairs, Australia's Transportation Department made the 50-percent rule only three days before the first flight. The Australians say there were many discussions before that.

Mr. Mishkin says that Northwest reluctantly agreed to the terms in a letter, but that a "verbal agreement" with the department led Northwest to believe that the conditions were just a formality to satisfy the Australian carrier Qantas.

"The department knew full well that we were not going to comply ... and they knew very well that the 50-percent condition was not an absolute condition but rather a provision installed by them for their domestic political needs," he says. Northwest had been striving to comply with the spirit of the agreement, even though it felt the agreement was illegal. The average number of New York-Sydney passengers was 40 percent in 1992, Mishkin says.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



QANTAS PLANE: *If Northwest Airlines is forced to reduce its flights to Sydney, the Australian carrier may be hit with limits on its US flights in retaliation.*

A spokesman for the Minister of Transport and Communications says nearly every month Northwest was "grossly under" the 50-percent rule.

What is at issue here are differing interpretations of the bilateral agreement. Australia says its actions were consistent with the primary purpose of the agreement, which it says is to carry US-Australia traffic. "In recognition of the fact that that route was coming from Japan then we would allow 50 percent to come from Japan," the spokesman says. The deal allows each government to impose conditions that they regard as appropriate to the primary purpose, he says.

The US says the 50-percent rule violated the agreement, which allows Northwest to operate flights over the North Pacific from the US to Australia via intermediate countries.

ECONOMY

US Airlines, struggling at home, cause a commotion abroad as they take business away from foreign carriers

US Airlines Press Into Latin America

By David Clark Scott
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY

LATIN America is emerging as a highly profitable market for foreign airlines, particularly United States carriers. But local carriers are not exactly putting out a welcome mat at Mexico City's Benito Juarez International airport.

"If we don't protect our national sovereignty and keep our operational wits about us, we'll be displaced from our traditional strongholds," warned Ricardo Garcia Sáinz, president of Compania Mexicana de Aviacion, in January. A few weeks later, Aerovias de Mexico (Aeromexico) bought a 55-percent stake in Mexicana, creating a merger of Mexico's two largest airlines.

Analysts say the merger is an act of self-preservation.

"Both Mexicana and Aeromexico were hurt by the competition between themselves and by outside carriers," says Hector Novoa, an industry analyst with Operadora de Bolsa, a Mexico City investment house. "Mexicana was forced to cancel several traditional routes to the US. An alliance is the only logical move."

To reduce political flak over the creation of a near monopoly, Mexicana and Aeromexico planes will keep their different paint schemes but will operate under one management team. The Mexican government and the two companies insist this is an "alliance," not a merger.

Mexico is not the only nation worrying about outside competition. Chile's airline association recently lobbied its government to block American Airlines and United Airlines from expanding service there. United plans to boost capacity 23 percent by using larger aircraft, while American plans to double the number of weekly flights from the US by June 1.

The Latin American attraction is simple: profits. US carriers have been taking a beating in their home market, competing against each other. But they are finding easier pickings south of the Rio Grande.

"Traffic between the US and Mexico is growing at a rate of 17 to 18 percent a year. You've got a growth market with high yields and that makes for very profitable routes, not just in Mexico but especially on the longer-haul flights to South America," says Robert Booth, president of Aviation Management Services, a Miami consulting firm specializing in Latin America.

The boom in traffic is due in part to the regional economic recovery that has taken place over the last four years. Foreign businessmen are coming here in droves.

In March British Airways reopened direct flights between Mexico City and London after an 11-year hiatus from the market. Ticket sales are running 30 percent above expectations, BA's managing director Robert Ayling told reporters.

Foreign carriers are grabbing a bigger slice of Latin America's overseas-travel market because they are bigger and more efficient than most Latin American airlines.

"They have lower operational costs, they've used more aggressive pricing policies, and they manage their yields better than local carriers," says Harold Shenton, vice president of Avmark, an airline consulting firm in Alexandria, Va.

The size advantage means that American Airlines can operate five flights a day out of Costa Rica, while the local carrier offers two flights a day. "The business traveler looks for frequency. If he gets done with his work on Thursday, he doesn't want to wait around until Friday afternoon for a flight," Mr. Booth says. The business traveler typically pays full fare, not discount prices, he notes.

LOCAL airlines have been shaken by the sudden influx of competition. American, United, Delta Airlines, and Continental Airlines are the principal US carriers moving into the region. Many countries have "open skies" agreements that permit foreign airlines almost unlimited access to their markets. Until recently, the foundering Pan Am and Eastern airlines were the principal US carriers in the region. But they did not have the resources or the inclination to expand service.

Few complaints were heard about the open skies policies. But local airlines are upset about these agreements now that United and American, which took over Latin American routes from the bankrupt Pan Am and Eastern, are expanding aggressively into the region.

"It's a whole different ballgame competing against American and United. They're seen as two 800-pound gorillas. They're throwing a lot of capacity at the market," Booth says.

Some local airlines have responded by seeking alliances with other foreign carriers. Aeromexico recently purchased 44 percent of Aeroperu – a small, poorly run airline – in hopes of creating a southern hub. Mexicana has a marketing alliance with Air France. Booth predicts that Mexicana may develop an agreement with Continental and Air Canada, because all three airlines have major investors who are closely related. TransBrasil, the No. 2 Brazilian airline, announced May 12 that it had allied itself with United. Similarly, Delta and Varig, Brazil's No. 1 airline, recently announced an alliance.

Retailers Skittish Over Consumer Spending

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
NEW YORK

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

SHOPPERS AT A&S PLAZA IN NEW YORK: *Retail sales are unlikely to rise as fast as inflation this year. Slow income growth has consumers looking for 'value,' analysts say, which promises to help discount stores.*

CASH registers may be ringing at stores throughout the United States, but the message from retailers is that consumers are spending as little as possible – and looking for lower-priced merchandise.

"There is considerable apprehension [within the retail sector] about consumer spending, where the US economy is going, and when new jobs will be created," says Kurt Barnard, publisher of Kurt Barnard's Retail Marketing Report, a monthly journal on retail trends.

The second quarter, ending in June, will be "a spotty quarter at best in terms of retail sales," Mr. Barnard says. "The quarter is likely to be flat, with sales up only 2 percent or so."

That follows a dismal first quarter, "which was just not good for a lot of retailers," Mr. Barnard says. In 1992, retail sales rose about 2.5 percent above 1991 sales, he says. Yet US retailers will be fortunate if they reach or exceed that level of growth in 1993. He predicts that total sales will rise only 1 to 2 percent this year, not even keeping pace with inflation.

Most major retailers, except for a few large regional chains, have released first-quarter sales and earnings. K mart, the second-largest mass retailer in the country behind Wal-mart, saw profits fall 57 percent. The decline was partly attributed to unseasonably cold weather earlier this year, which hurt sales of lawn and garden equipment, some household goods, and spring apparel.

Some companies, including Toys R Us and Lowe's, a building-supply retailer, have posted fairly good sales and earnings gains. But many other companies are expanding sales only by "marking down prices" through special promotions, says Janet Mangano, a retail specialist with Burnham Securities Inc. "Retailers are very skittish right now about the well-being of the economy and consumer spending; the retailers will tell you everything is fine. But I'm clearly hearing the nervousness in their voices."

That concern is not just coming from large national retailers. Optimism among small-business owners is declining, according to a survey by the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB). The organization's business optimism index fell from 102.1 percent in January to 97 percent in April.

The April results put the index "at its lowest point since the first quarter of 1991," says Jeffrey Van Hulle, research fellow with the NFIB. The group is the trade arm for many small retailers and businesses, and its quarterly survey is based on polling responses from more than 2,000 firms. Over a quarter of the member firms in the NFIB are retailers.

The latest NFIB survey found that small-business executives expect revenues to decline during the second quarter of 1993. "They don't see much improvement coming in the economy," Mr. Van Hulle says.

The main problem for retailers is low personal-income growth. "Real disposable personal income grew at a 2.7 percent annual rate in the first quarter of 1993," Ms. Mangano says. The fourth-quarter rate in 1992 was 4.2 percent. In the first quarter of 1993 consumer spending grew at an annual rate of only 1.2 percent, compared with 5.1 percent in the fourth quarter of last year.

Shoppers are looking for "value," Mangano says. Retailers specializing in price-discounting and lower-cost value, such as Wal-mart, K mart, Home Depot, and Toys R Us, are well positioned to take advantage of current consumer unease, according to a study recently published by Salomon Brothers.

Consumers are shifting from the large suburban shopping malls that dominated retailing in the 1970s and 1980s, to smaller local malls, Barnard says. They are increasingly turned off by the large crowds found in the big malls, he says, as well as "the sameness" in the appearance of the stores. Smaller malls, by contrast, tend to have only one or two major retailers such as Marshall's, a discount store.

US Plan Would Force Japan to Cut Trade Surplus by Half

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
TOKYO

LET Japan change Japan.

That's the message which officials in Tokyo are taking from a proposal by the Clinton White House that calls on Japan to reduce its global surplus by as much as 50 percent over the next three years – and to work out the details itself.

The plan, proposed by top Clinton aides, still awaits the president's approval, but it already has brought a rebuke from Tokyo as unworkable and a threat to Japan-United States ties. The plan, if accepted, would force Japan to alter deep-set cultural and business behavior that effectively block many imports and foreign services.

The Bush administration tried to work with Japan to change "structural" aspects of Japanese society, such as collusive business groups and a complex distribution system, but made little progress. Clinton officials, impatient to create American jobs through more exports, prefer to confront Tokyo with "results-oriented" demands for radical and quick change.

The plan, according to Japanese officials, would ask Tokyo to cut its current-account surplus (a wide measure of trade covering goods and services) to 1 to 2 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) by the end of Clinton's term of office. Last year's surplus was 3.2 percent of GDP, and may exceed 4 percent this year.

In addition, the plan calls for Japan to raise its imports of manufactured goods to over 4 percent of GDP, up from about 3 percent at present.

Such a proposal to hold Japan accountable for specific targets in its trade imbalance has raised a flat "no" from Tokyo. "We don't think [in terms of] figures, only words and cooperation," says Sozaburo Okamatsu, director-general of international trade policy at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). "We have certain negotiating principles: Discussion should be a two-way street. We certainly can't make any commitment beyond the government's reach."

The proposal comes as the two nations are due to open talks this week or next to set up a "framework" for negotiations for the July summit of the leaders of seven major industrial nations, or G-7. The proposal would be presented to all G-7 countries, but since Japan is the only one with a surplus, it is the obvious target of the US. If the two nations are still at loggerheads on trade come July, it could create a disharmonious summit.

Anticipating a tough approach by Clinton, Japanese officials say they will ask Washington to come up with its own steps to cut the trade imbalance.

Finance Minister Yoshiro Hayashi says the problem is common for countries such as the US which have large government deficits. "At least at present, Japan is not considering setting any concrete goals such as promising to curb the surplus," he says.

Japan may also try to shift the negotiations to problems that Japanese firms face in US markets. As an example, Tokyo officials say US agencies discriminate against purchases of foreign supercomputers.

To reduce its surplus would require an unacceptable amount of government involvement in private business, Japanese officials warn.

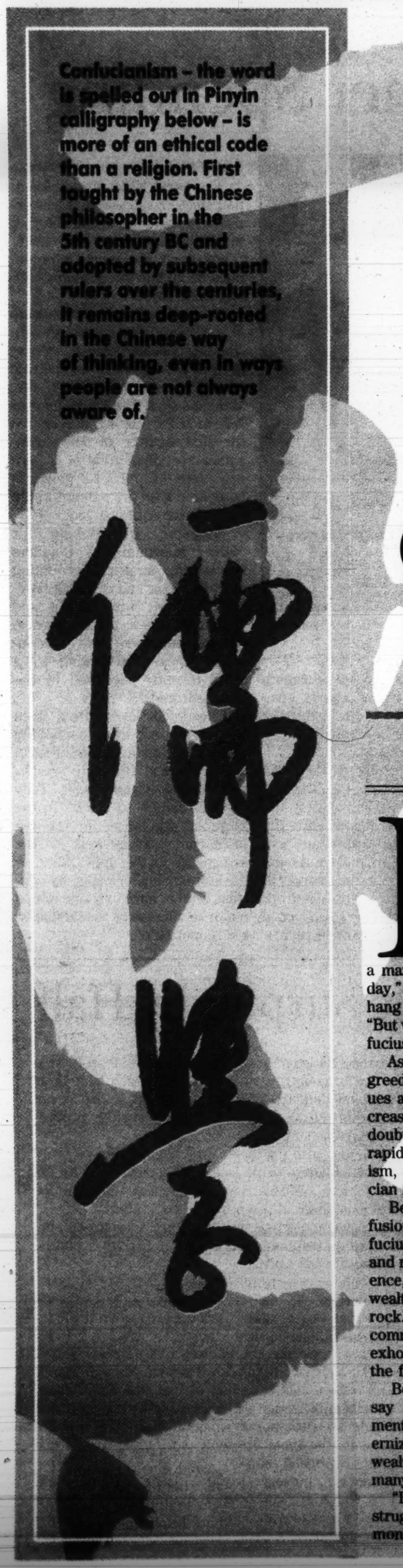
"We believe it is grossly over-simplistic to see trade imbalances as 'evil' and caused solely by the existence of 'closed' markets," stated an annual report on trade released by MITI last week.

Also last week, the US reported that its trade deficit rose to its highest monthly level in four years in March – $10.2 billion. Just over half of that was with Japan.

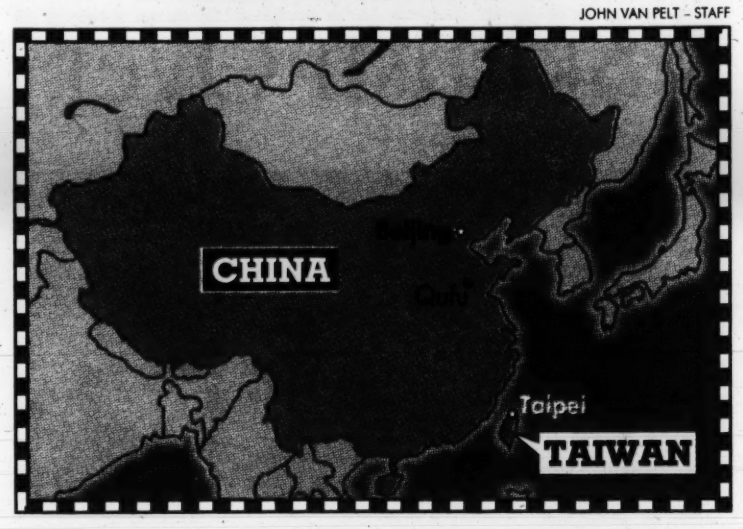
Officials in Tokyo have tried to explain away the trade imbalance as a temporary phenomenon that will decrease as the Japanese economy picks up by year's end and starts importing more.

US officials, however, say that American goods and services which are competitive worldwide still cannot find sizable markets in Japan, and that therefore the Japanese government must come up with solutions.

COVER STORY


Confucianism – the word is spelled out in Pinyin calligraphy below – is more of an ethical code than a religion. First taught by the Chinese philosopher in the 5th century BC and adopted by subsequent rulers over the centuries, it remains deep-rooted in the Chinese way of thinking, even in ways people are not always aware of.

JOHN VAN PELT – STAFF



As communism decays and capitalism grows, the Chinese reach for new values and take a fresh look at traditional ideals

Cultural Confusion Sends China Back to Confucius

By Sheila Tefft
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

QUFU, CHINA

IN two years, artist Qiu Qingfeng has painted 30 portraits of Confucius, each with a stormy visage mirroring his own disquiet.

"Society needs Confucius. His teachings for self-improvement, studying hard, and being a man of integrity are still applicable today," says the 23-year-old, whose paintings hang in the great sage's hometown manor. "But very few people now understand Confucius. And that's a tragedy."

As communism decays and capitalist greed spreads, Chinese grasp for new values amid a spreading cultural unease. Increasingly, people speak openly of self-doubt and soul-searching triggered by rapid-fire market change, bankrupt Marxism, and the drift from traditional Confucian ideals.

Beijing's communists confound the confusion. They scuttled the virulent anti-Confucius campaign of the Cultural Revolution and now invoke Confucian ethics of obedience, respect, and sense of commonwealth, which form China's cultural bedrock. Still, in a campaign reviving communism's favorite everyman, they exhort Chinese to "learn from Lei Feng," the fictional soldier and Marxist paragon.

Both Chinese and Western observers say weakened Confucianism, disillusionment with communism, encroaching Westernization, and the pell-mell pursuit of wealth have eroded recent beliefs and left many Chinese at a cultural crossroads.

"During the Cultural Revolution the struggle against self-interest ... was commonly accepted. But later we discovered that we had been fooled because the practice was mine is mine and yours is mine too," says a professor at People's University in Beijing. "I still believe in the struggle against self-interest.... But today we are asking what are the values that work in the market economy?

"There is chaos in Chinese values," he adds. "What should be the values for today?"

"The most important thing is that the social contract doesn't exist anymore. Can China be as Confucian as before? Certainly not. But this is no longer the culture of Mao's new man, either," says Yves Nalet, a China analyst in Hong Kong. "Many are asking how long can people just care about themselves and not care about others. The Chinese are saying we don't know what we want to be."

Amid the disarray, the 2,500-year-old tradition of China's greatest thinker and educator, known here as Kong Fuzi, is key to a lively intellectual debate overfilling what some Western scholars consider China's moral void.

More of an ethical code than a religion, Confucianism, first taught by the philosopher in the 5th century BC and adopted by subsequent rulers over the centuries, remains deep-rooted in the Chinese way of thinking, even in ways people are not always aware of, intellectuals here say.

Even communist supremo Mao Zedong, who attacked Confucius as a misguided feudal lord, used Confucian strictures to stay in power, Chinese scholars say.

"Confucianism and communism are contradictory in nature. But they have one thing in common: Both were used by ruling classes to keep society in order," says one scholar. "To maintain their rule, the communists changed Confucianism so that loyalty to the emperor became loyalty to the chairman."

Today, in Qufu, a bustling tourist hub of almost 1 million people in southeastern Shandong province, Confucius is once again king. The government has spent millions of dollars to repair damage to the temple and mansion of Confucius and his descendants that was caused by marauding Red Guards. Much of the Confucian legacy was saved through the intervention of Premier Zhou Enlai and the secret efforts of local residents.

Confucianism also is making a theoretical comeback, say local young people who claim the philosophy gives them a moral anchor.

"This has been passed down from generation to generation for 2,000 years," says Wu Lixin, who reads Confucius' teachings regularly and plans to study hotel management in the United States. "The reason it has lasted is because it is truth."

But another side of the philosophy justifies oppressive politics and social conservatism, Chinese observers say. Recently, public-security officials here blocked a rock concert by an Australian band, which went ahead only after intervention by the Australian Embassy in Beijing. When pro-democracy protests swept China in 1989, the response in Qufu was muted.

"The older people said the students were wrong because [the older people] are still very conservative and worried that the public good would be harmed," a young man says. For legions of uninterested young Chinese, though, Confucianism is irrelevant in a modernizing but callous China swept by crime, cynicism, official corruption, and the rush to get rich.

"Young people in Shanghai don't believe in Confucius," said a visiting Shanghai businessman who was touring the old mansion. "But we still regard him as our old ancestor."

"We've had enough of Confucius," said a taxi driver in the Shandong capital of Jinan. "His teachings are too strict."

COURTESY OF MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

'CONFUCIUS AT THE APRICOT ALTAR AND HIS TWO DISCIPLES': *Ink on silk, by Kano Tan'yu, Japan, 17th century. One of a set of three panels.*

Still, Chinese scholars say that Confucianism is here to stay, contending that any moral vacuum is temporary and part of the evolution under way in China.

"With the change from the rigid economic structure to the market economy, the old rigidity is under shock and is being smashed," says scholar Sun Changjiang. "As the old ideology fades, a new ideology is growing."

"The impact of Confucianism, positive and negative, will last for a long time," says Tan Yijie, president of the International Academy of Chinese Culture in Beijing. "There are a considerable number of people in China who have real ideals. Though they may not constitute the majority of the population, they represent the future."

Modern Rivalry Separates Heirs Of Ancient Sage

BEIJING

THE only acknowledged direct descendants of Confucius, Kong Demao and Kong Decheng (a sister and brother), are pawns in the rivalry between China and Taiwan.

Now a soft-spoken great-grandmother, Kong Demao regained the stature of her ancestry after the ruling communists acknowledged the influence of China's greatest philosopher and reembraced his legacy in the late 1970s.

The elderly woman sits in a government assembly of prominent Chinese, holds an honorary title in the China Confucius Foundation, enjoys a comfortable apartment, has a car at her disposal, and makes three trips a year back to the Kong family home in Qufu, where she is an influential celebrity.

But Mrs. Kong, who grew up in cloistered feudal luxury in the family mansion, has paid an enormous price for her pedigree. Except for one short meeting in Japan in more than 40 years, she has been separated from her brother since he fled to Taiwan with retreating Nationalists in 1948. That move broke a 2,500-year tradition of family residence in Qufu.

As the direct heir of impoverished Confucius (Kong Fuzi) but the only son of the 77th generation of the vastly wealthy Kong family, Kong Decheng wielded great influence as a noble of the Kong mansion built by Chinese emperors as a monument to the philosophy that kept them in power.

A professor of history and ritual in Taipei, Mr. Kong oversees Taiwan's formidable system of exams, which determines access to education and jobs. But his position also prevents him from corresponding with his mainland sister.

Mrs. Kong, a housewife who was married to a government bureaucrat, was humiliated and forced to dig air-raid shelters during the Cultural Revolution, when Chairman Mao Zedong viciously attacked Confucianism as a remnant of a hated feudal past.

"Perhaps Mao himself didn't fully understand what is Confucianism, so he criticized it," she muses. "In everyone's life there are twists and turns. I now live in peace."

Today, Mrs. Kong basks in her renown, especially during the frequent trips to Qufu that she began making in 1978 to oversee what had been the family domain.

Admittedly no Confucian scholar, she remembers only a few of the sayings she learned as a girl, confined almost constantly within what was considered a "sacred mansion."

Mrs. Kong is unsure just how many Kongs there are. Regularly, delegations from South Korea, Japan, and other neighboring countries influenced by Confucian thought come to search the archives in hopes of winning a place on the Chinese world's most prominent family tree.

Whom China and Taiwan will acknowledge in the next generation remains to be seen. Mrs. Kong still hopes for a reunion with her brother on the mainland. But she is unsure if China will recognize her brother's son as the next descendent or find a new designee among those claiming Kong lineage on the mainland.

– S. T.

JUSTICE

Women Inmates Build New Lives

Boston's Charlotte House prepares offenders for release, but the center may have to close

By Kirsten A. Conover
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DORCHESTER, MASS.

THE house at 32 Charlotte Street looks like other houses on this street in Dorchester, a neighborhood of Boston. It's a large Victorian, painted light green and white, worn by time, but looking well-lived-in.

Although it is not home to a family in the traditional sense, it is a special place for women making positive changes in their lives.

Charlotte House, as it is called, is a pre-release center for female offenders. The 15 women who live here are still incarcerated in the state prison system, but have 18 months or less of their sentences to serve. Here they learn how to make the transition from prison to functional living in society. This means working with counselors, overcoming addictions and addictive thinking, getting a job, paying room and board, doing household chores, volunteering at an outside agency (such as one that teaches drug education), and beginning the process of reuniting with families – especially children.

These days, however, more than the usual concerns permeate this household. With proposed cutbacks in government spending, Charlotte House, which has a contract with the state, may have to close its doors after 28 years of service.

To cut costs, the state plans to close all contract residential pre-release programs except one for pregnant inmates.

"We no longer need their services," explains Tim App, associate deputy commissioner for community corrections for the Massachusetts Department of Correction. He points to cost-effectiveness, saying that the state's own pre-release programs can handle the job. According to Mr. App, there are 100 people in contract pre-release programs and about 576 people in state pre-release programs. "It's easy for us to absorb those 100 [beds] instead of paying extra costs," App says. He adds that tougher, mandatory sentencing has shifted the need from pre-release beds to additional beds in detention facilities.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

COUNSELING: *Charlotte House director Sandy Dalton (l.) talks with two residents whose sentences are nearly over.*

But critics of the proposed closings argue that any short-term savings gained by shutting down contract pre-release centers will result in long-term costs.

A study released in June 1992 by the Massachusetts Department of Correction showed that, in 1989, the recidivism rate for offenders who had resided in contract pre-release centers was 16 percent, compared with 18 percent for inmates in state-operated pre-release centers.

"What it simply means is that people who come through our contract pre-release system perform much better after release than any other release vehicle the state has," says Bryan Riley, executive director of Massachusetts Half-Way Houses Inc.

Mr. Riley notes that Massachusetts prisons are operating at well over 100 percent capacity, and 70 percent of inmates are being released without going through a pre-release program. "And they say they don't need us?" he says.

The women at Charlotte House represent the human face of the reintegration process. On a Tuesday evening, they talk about the transition – that it is difficult, that the regimented life in prison is easier, but that the responsibility and discipline required of them in the pre-release program force them to be accountable to themselves and therefore stronger when they go out the front door to freedom. They speak of the difference between the prison environment – using words such as "degradation" and "humiliation" – and the environment here that offers "respect," "support," "family, friends."

States Have Bills of Rights, Too

THE LAW

BY the mid-1970s, United States Supreme Court Justice William Brennan didn't like the trend he was seeing in the judicial protection of individual liberties under the US Constitution. Even before the Reagan and Bush administrations started appointing an army of conservative judges to the federal bench, it was clear to Brennan that the Warren-court era – characterized by expansive Supreme Court interpretations of the Bill of Rights – was over.

So in 1977 Justice Brennan – a former judge on the New Jersey Supreme Court – published an article in the Harvard Law Review urging civil-liberties lawyers and state judges to use state constitutions as independent sources of individual rights.

For a time lawyers and state judges were left scratching their heads. Despite the efforts of a few pioneers like former Oregon Supreme Court Justice Hans Linde, state constitutional law was virtually dormant in the realm of civil liberties. Today, however, state protection of individual rights is a growth industry.

Across the nation, state supreme courts are handing down rulings on state charters that expand civil liberties beyond the benchmarks thus far established by federal courts under the US Constitution. State judges are broadening individual rights in such areas as criminal law (search and seizure, self-incrimination, cruel and unusual punishment), equity in school financing, gender equality, and privacy – for example, drug testing and homosexual rights.

"This [trend] isn't limited to traditionally liberal state courts, such as those in California and New Jersey," says Gerald Uelmen, dean of Santa Clara Law School in California. "It's happening across the board."

In historically conservative Kentucky, for instance, the state high court recently struck down an anti-sodomy statute, in contrast to an earlier US Supreme Court decision upholding a Georgia law. In Tennessee, as in a number of other states, the high court has ruled that the state's school-financing scheme is unfair under the state constitution, whereas the Supreme Court has said that the US Constitution doesn't apply to school funding.

And at a time when the US Supreme Court is whittling back the Warren-court rights granted to criminal defendants, many state courts are expanding those rights.

"It's skating on the edge of malpractice for a criminal-defense lawyer not to assert state constitutional rights on behalf of a client," says John Henry Hingson III, a defense lawyer in Oregon City, Ore. Mr. Hingson, who says he had to teach himself because of the paucity of educational materials on state constitutional law, travels about proselytizing to other defense lawyers.

Just as the Warren court's decisions in criminal law were its most controversial, so with state constitutional rulings. In at least two states, such rulings have triggered a backlash. In 1982 California voters passed an initiative providing that if police evidence against a criminal defendant cannot be suppressed under the US Constitution, it cannot be suppressed under the state charter, either. A recent amendment to the Florida Constitution has a similar effect.

Such developments hardly signal the end of the boom, however. Books, scholarly articles, and newsletters now are offering judges and lawyers guidance on state constitutional rights, as well as practice tips for litigators. National civil-liberties organizations that previously focused exclusively on the federal courts are also devoting attention – and money – to litigation in state courts.

Some legal scholars are uneasy about the trend. In a law-review article last year, Prof. James Gardner of Western New England Law School in Springfield, Mass., decried what he views as the Balkanization of constitutional law. Assertions of state constitutional rights, he wrote, undermine America's national identity and the role of the US Constitution as the embodiment of national values.

In a response to Professor Gardner published last month, however, Neil Cogan, the dean of the Quinnipiac School of Law near New Haven, Conn., argued that the trend is consistent with US federalism. Moreover, Dean Cogan wrote, a robust discourse about constitutional rights within and among the states ultimately will enrich the federal judiciary's interpretation of the Bill of Rights.

– James H. Andrews

Workers from Aid to Incarcerated Mothers shuttle kids to prison visits with their moms, monitor foster care, and ease the concerns of children

Help for Kids While Mom's in Jail

By Fred Pelka
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

SHARON JONES was 21 years old when her mother was sent to the state prison for women in Framingham, Mass. Confused and alone, Ms. Jones turned to a unique program that provides aid to imprisoned mothers and their families.

"I had a hard time dealing with the fact that my mother was in prison," she says. "I was a mother myself, and I'd lost my apartment. We didn't have any place to go. AIM was able to put me on to housing, and to help with everything else."

AIM stands for Aid to Incarcerated Mothers, a nonprofit agency headquartered in Boston with an office at the Massachusetts Correctional Institute in Framingham. Whether the women are sentenced to six months or for life, whether their children are infants or young adults, AIM's small staff and its 15 or so volunteers offer help.

They arrange visits between mothers and children and help families with everything from finding an apartment, to balancing a checkbook, to babysitting. The program also helps families deal with the shame and confusion people feel when someone they love is incarcerated.

"I didn't want to tell my kids that their grandmother was in prison, because I didn't know how they would react," Jones says. "Then my oldest son started reading the mail, spelling out 'Framingham MCI' [Massachusetts Correctional Institution]."

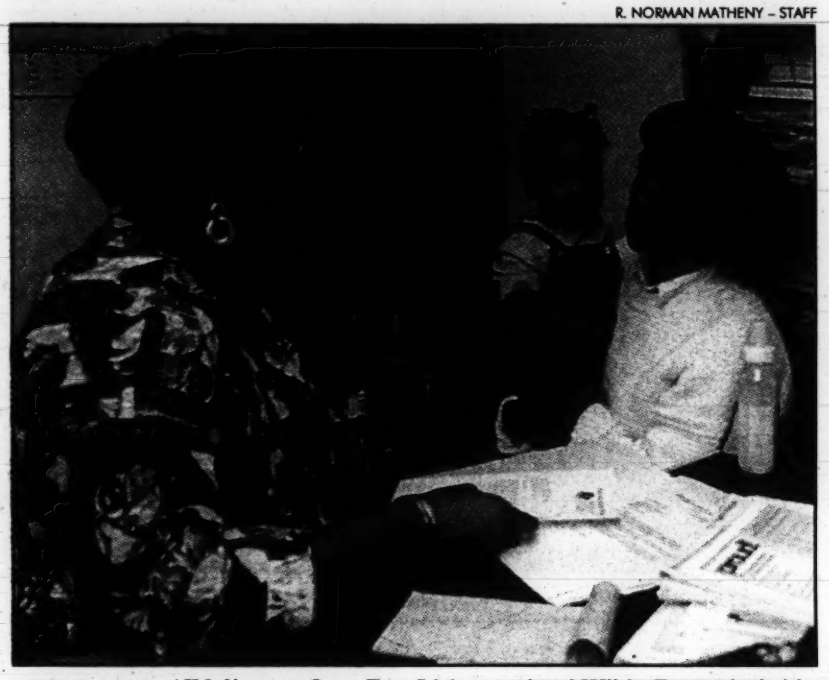
Rise in women inmates

Though AIM is one of only a few programs of its type in the country, the need for such services is widespread. During the 1980s, the number of women incarcerated in the US tripled to more than 45,000. In Massachusetts, from 1987 to 1989, the number of women committed to the Department of Correction increased 27 percent, from 897 to 1,142, though the figure declined somewhat from 1989 to 1991.

As is true elsewhere in the nation, most of these women are convicted for nonviolent offenses: drug abuse, petty theft, prostitution, or welfare fraud, and the average sentence served in Framingham is seven months. Nationally, approximately 80 percent of incarcerated women are mothers of dependent children, and of these the majority are their children's sole providers.

"We try to keep these families together, that's our No. 1 goal," says Jean Fox, AIM's executive director. "And when they're released, we do what we can to help them back into the community, and to stay out of prison."

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



HELPING HAND: *AIM director Jean Fox (l.) has assisted Wilda Francois (with her son Rashid) while Ms. Francois was in prison and since her release.*

Visits to foster homes

Pamela Roseboro spent four months in Framingham in 1988, "for shoplifting and drugs," she says. During that time her six-year-old son lived first with an uncle, then in a foster home. AIM arranged for Ms. Roseboro's placement in a drug-treatment program after her release, and AIM volunteers visited her son while he was in foster care.

"You can't come out of incarceration to check out your child's foster home," Roseboro says. "They do visits for you, and can tell the mother that the children are fine." Worried about her son, Roseboro almost left her drug-treatment program. "The AIM people said, 'No, you stay in the program, and we'll make sure your child is all right. You do your part, and we'll do ours.' "

AIM was founded in 1979 when a group of inmates at Framingham contacted women in the community for help in seeing and caring for their children.

"One of the founders was a woman who was still breast-feeding when her sentence began," Ms. Fox recalls. "She had trouble getting a breast pump into and out of the facility, and getting the milk out fresh to her baby. She got together with other women at the facility, and they discovered that they all shared problems related to being a mother."

Today AIM serves approximately 100 women a month. The program's staff and volunteer attorneys work to ensure visitation rights, and they represent incarcerated mothers in child-custody and adoption cases. An agency van makes the rounds once a week, picking up children in the Boston area for visits to their mothers, while volunteers use their own cars to reach children in other parts of the state. AIM also provides newly released clients with small emergency grants for rental security deposits, furniture and clothing, or to cover work-related expenses, such as uniforms or transportation to job interviews.

'We try to keep these families together, that's our No. 1 goal.'

–Jean Fox
AIM executive director

A new project called CHARM (Comprehensive Help to At-Risk Mothers) educates inmates about AIDS and HIV (the virus believed to cause AIDS), a growing problem among the women's prison population. Roseboro, who was diagnosed as HIV positive 10 years ago, says that AIM has been crucial in helping her understand and cope with her condition.

"They helped me hook up with a church, which has been a real help," she says. Roseboro credits her Christian faith – and AIM – with keeping her healthy and drug free since her release.

Dorothy Dwyer has been an AIM volunteer for seven years, since her retirement from the Needham, Mass., public schools. She has spent hundreds of hours and driven thousands of miles, taking children, from infants to adolescents, to see their mothers in Framingham.

"It's wonderful when the children first come for their visit. They're so happy to see their moms, and their moms are so happy to see them. But it's usually a very short visit, and when you have to take them away, that's very hard, especially for the school-aged children."

'It's not their fault'

"There's also a children's group on Thursday," says Jones, who became a volunteer after her mother was released. "We have a driver who brings the kids in. First we ask them if they have any homework and if they need help with it. We have a diary where we ask them to write down how they feel. We always have a snack, and then we sit down and talk."

Sometimes, help for these kids can be as simple as letting them know they're not to blame for their mothers' being in prison.

"When your mother's incarcerated, society makes you feel like it's your fault," Jones says. "Lots of times the kids will say, 'If I hadn't done this, if I hadn't done that, my mommy wouldn't be in that place.' But it's not their fault, and it's really important that someone tells them that."

"When the parents are recovering, the children need to recover too," Roseboro adds. "They need to know that mommy's coming back, that she's safe. After she's out, they need to know that mommy isn't going back to jail."

Dwyer keeps in touch with many of the mothers after they're released. Roseboro has also become an AIM volunteer.

"Once you're in the program, you're always a member of Aid to Incarcerated Mothers," Roseboro says. "They gave me a foundation and helped me get started in the right direction. No matter what, that will be a part of me for the rest of my life."

Most are disappointed by the proposed closing of Charlotte House and see it as a grave mistake. They say Charlotte House offers things that some other pre-release programs do not.

Some of the women cite little things, such as being able to wear their own clothes, instead of a prison uniform; or getting a job, paying rent (15 percent of income), and managing their own money, instead of handing it over to someone else to manage.

Some cite bigger things, such as being able to have their children stay with them over the weekends , and – perhaps most important – getting a job in the same community they will probably return to.

"Most of my women are *from* this area," says Sandy Dalton, executive director of Charlotte House.

AT Charlotte House, "they give you certain attention and time. They really worked with me. You're not going to get that in a state-run facility," says Mattie, a production coordinator and former resident of Charlotte House, who has stopped by for a visit.

'Our communities don't need people getting out of jail mean, bitter, and nasty. They need a helpful place. This is how I really changed," she continues. "Coming here I learned the tools and skills to go out in society and function. I learned I could do all right in the square world."

There are few women's programs, says Ms. Dalton, who has been with Charlotte House for eight years. She is trying to persuade lawmakers to restore contract pre-release residential centers in the 1994 budget.

"The national picture seems to be a lot more progressive than in Massachusetts," says Dalton, who attended a National Academy of Corrections seminar in Longmont, Colo., last year. "We seemed to have regressed," she says. While other states have implemented residential programs as an alternative to prison, not as an add-on to a jail term, "Here they're going to increase prison beds," Dalton complains.

"There's nothing rehabilitative about it," says Liz, a former resident speaking about her prison experience. "Nothing constructive about it. Here [with the low staff-to-resident ratio], they have a genuine concern.... It is essential to have a place for the turning point; it's critical."

Gail, a present resident at Charlotte House (who asked that her real name not be used), sums up the women's sentiments: "Here at Charlotte House they want women to be whole, dignified, and free. If every house on this street were like this one, we would be a lot safer as a society."

FILM

SAMANTHA DEAN & ASSOCIATES, INC.

TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY STORY: *Karen-Lise Mynster (center), plays Sofie in the film based on a 1932 novel.*

Ullmann Makes Directing Debut

'Sofie' reveals an intelligent yet timid filmmaking style

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

BY any standard, Liv Ullmann must be counted with the world's most extraordinary actresses. Her films include a long list of Ingmar Bergman classics – from "Persona" and "Cries and Whispers" to "Scenes From a Marriage" and "Autumn Sonata," among others – along with international productions such as "A Bridge Too Far" and stage successes such as "Anna Christie" on Broadway.

But performing is only one aspect of her career. Her two books, "Changing" and "Choices," have been translated into many languages. She has worked since 1980 as a goodwill ambassador for the United Nations, pleading the cause of underprivileged children around the world. She has received all manner of awards, medals, and honorary degrees.

Now Ms. Ullmann is a movie director, too. Some 35 years after her screen-acting debut, she has made her first picture on the business side of the camera: "Sofie," the story of a turn-of-the-century woman facing difficult decisions in life and love.

Based on a 1932 novel by Henri Nathansen, a respected Danish author, "Sofie" begins in 1886 and centers on a Copenhagen woman whose marital status – still single at the ripe old age of 28 – is generating much concern among her family and friends.

Attending a soiree at her uncle's mansion, however, she meets what appears to be the man of her dreams. He's handsome, successful, and talented enough to be considered one of the city's most promising artists. He paints a portrait of Sofie's parents and it delights everyone, from the subjects of the painting to the critic in the local newspaper. And this newfound friend is as crazy about Sofie as she is about him.

There's only one obstacle in the way of their marriage: He isn't Jewish, and try as they might to be broad-minded, Sofie's relatives squirm at the thought of an outsider in the family. So when a more conventional suitor arrives on the scene – a Jewish cousin named Jonas who's steady, reputable, and boring – she bows to tradition and takes him as her husband.

THE rest of the story chronicles the results of her decision, which include a decent life and a wonderful child, but also growing unhappiness with a spouse whose mind and health prove sadly unstable. The end of the movie finds her young son about to embark on an adult life that is likely to develop very differently from hers.

Ullmann has directed "Sofie" in a manner that is true to the characters and their way of life: cautious, measured, and rarely eager to break new ground or take onlookers by surprise. There are occasional breaks in its even-toned demeanor, as when Sofie expresses her sudden sexual passion for the painter she loves, and later for a friend who becomes her companion during her husband's illness. But these moments pass by as quickly as they arise, returning us to an atmosphere that's as predictable as the characters who inhabit it.

While this doesn't make "Sofie" an altogether dull movie, it does have tedious stretches between its more obviously dramatic passages. The acting – by such Scandinavian stars as Karen-Lise Mynster and Erland Josefson, who play Sofie and her father – has the same earnest sentimentality that marks the visual style and the screenplay, which Ullmann wrote with Peter Poulsen, a prolific Danish author making his movie-writing debut.

The camera work is by Jorgen Persson, who specializes in the lovely but rather monotonous imagery found in such pictures as "Elvira Madigan" and "Pelle the Conqueror," which are among his credits.

In all, "Sofie" introduces the multitalented Ullmann as a very careful filmmaker who needs to inject her style with the same creative energy that distinguishes her best achievements as an actress. She has the skill and intelligence to become a capable director. What's lacking so far is a sense of adventure.

■ *"Sofie" has not been rated. It contains nudity and a couple of sexually oriented scenes.*

Two Americans Amid An African Tribe

By Mwangi Ireri

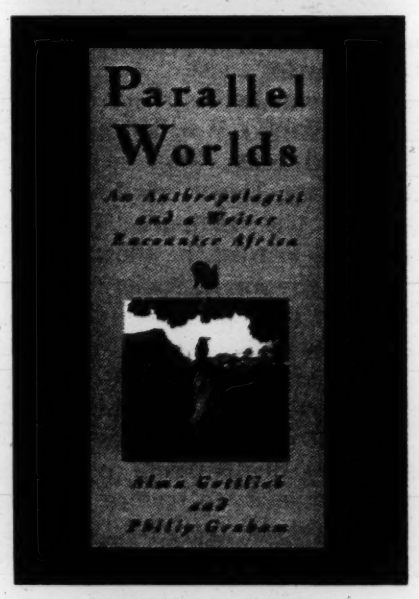
DURING the early 1980s, cultural anthropologist Alma Gottlieb ventured into the West African tropical rain forest to study the previously undocumented Beng people of Ivory Coast. Her fiction-writer husband, Philip Graham, accompanied her. "Parallel Worlds: An Anthropologist and a Writer Encounter Africa" is the fascinating memoir of their nearly two years spent living with this African tribe.

After Gottlieb completed her ethnographic study of the Beng, the couple returned to the United States to become professors at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Gottlieb teaches anthropology and African studies; Graham, creative writing.

In this powerful narrative, the couple take turns recreating their day-to-day activities in Africa. They lead the reader on an adventurous journey to a world where they "alternately felt welcome and unwelcome, fulfilled and frustrated," writes Gottlieb. Yet they considered the two different villages where they lived their "second home."

They became increasingly absorbed in the Beng culture. They learned how to speak the language, which improved their relationship with villagers.

BOOKS



PARALLEL WORLDS: AN ANTHROPOLOGIST AND A WRITER ENCOUNTER AFRICA
By Alma Gottlieb and Philip Graham
Crown, 324 pp., $22

But living in a culture so unlike their own was filled with frustrations – from a shortage of supplies to difficulty understanding the Beng's belief system, which relies on a spirit world. When participating in village functions, the authors occasionally became involved in personal, sometimes uncomfortable, events.

For example, disputes are common among the Beng. Resolving them is a communal obligation, and neighbors are tradition-bound to play their respective roles. Women have specific responsibilities that differ from those of men.

"The lesson of anthropology is that intercultural communication is difficult," Gottlieb writes. "But given the motivation to learn from mistakes, a significant level of mutual understanding *is* possible." That is the core lesson the authors relate.

Gottlieb and Graham describe a complex tribal group: Like other societies in Africa today, the Beng are ever-changing because of influences from the outside world. The authors observed increased interaction of the tribe with the cities, and the consequent exchange of values that were diluting the Beng culture.

"Teenagers enlivened the evenings dancing 'disco' to a generator-powered record player; village women now rode bikes," Gottlieb writes. "But other transformations were troubling. Some high school students spoke less Beng than I did."

Instead of a strictly anthropological perspective, the reader is offered an extra dimension: As a married couple, the authors became a functioning part of the community. This helped them interact, giving them greater freedom to learn about the society they were studying. Both authors are meticulous in their details.

Although "Parallel Worlds" is written as a memoir that studies a small segment of African life, it offers Western readers a broader view of the state of affairs in Ivory Coast and of the continent's vast complexities. While policymakers and educators will find this book useful, it is written for the general reader.

■ *Mwangi Ireri, a Kenya citizen, is a writer in Boston.*

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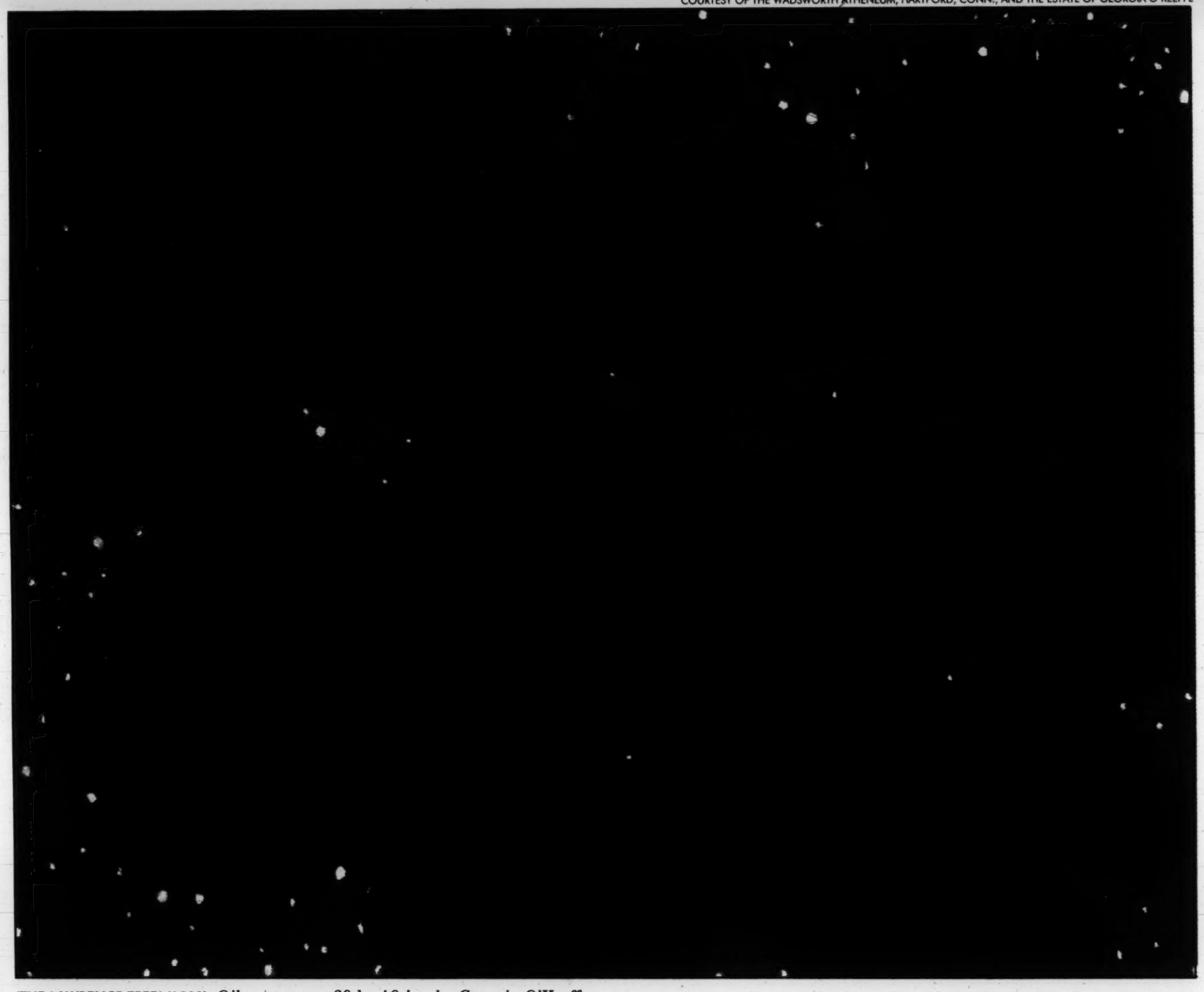
An Invitation to Vast Spaces, Inner Recesses

COURTESY OF THE WADSWORTH ATHENEUM, HARTFORD, CONN., AND THE ESTATE OF GEORGIA O'KEEFFE



'THE LAWRENCE TREE' (1929): *Oil on canvas, 30 by 40 in., by Georgia O'Keeffe.*

GEORGIA O'KEEFFE believed that painting should speak for itself. She is one of those artists whose work can communicate directly with the open-minded viewer.

This does not mean that her work is without its contained, even secretive symbolism. But her manner of painting is down to earth. It has a practical, straightforward character, rather like the technique of a potter or a sculptor: She molds, shapes, investigates, delves, feels the inner and outer, and she does so with as much clarity and visibility as possible. She is never vague or remote, even if some of the themes of her paintings are as intangible as night sky or as invisible as sound.

The tactility of what O'Keeffe has felt and explored, as she paints, the viewer also feels and explores. Few painters surround their viewers – invite them right into the swirling inner recesses and out into the vast spaces and over the edges of their curving horizons – as she does. These paintings really need to be experienced, and at first hand.

Though many of O'Keeffe's works are seen frequently in reproduction, they do not, in fact, reproduce well. Paint surface becomes an impersonal and glossy ink surface and loses something absolutely essential to the feel of an O'Keeffe painting. Her works, more than many a painter's, *need* to be the size she painted them for their scale to work (though they are not on the whole large). They are best seen hanging on a wall. A traveling exhibition, now in London, "Georgia O'Keeffe: American and Modern" acts as a refreshing reminder to those fortunate enough to see it that there is nothing like seeing original paintings.

Interpretive theories only complicate the experience of O'Keeffe's art; they also add a narrative, time dimension that her work does not have. Indeed, her sights always seem to be directed toward the timeless – which also happens to be the immediate. The first impression her works give, even at their most complex or apparently abstract, is of bold statement, of unfussed self-disclosure. Although her kind of painting is very far from being dry and classical, the warmth and expressive strength of her color, the roundedness and undulations of many of her forms, and the fluent modulations of her brushwork are kept in place by crisp edges and precise delineations.

O'Keeffe was, after all, the painter of weather-bared ribs and jawbones – and incisive New York skyscrapers – as well as of softer flowers, fruit, and leaves. This dichotomy of bone and flesh characterizes her unique stylistic combination of a softly applied paint with a strict economy of line and hardness of silhouette. The geometric is in counterpoint with the sensuous, the controlled with the free: Within the hard bone or the crisp petal, O'Keeffe finds the lyricism of poetry or song.

Her sense of scale – of mass, of monumentality, and of space – is an extraordinary quality of her art. When she paints the creased hills or furrowed cliffs, the massive fissures and folds are reduced to the context of surprisingly small canvases; yet they do not lose their scale or become small and distant. They always seem, in close-up, larger than life in their simplification. They are felt, handled, and rounded as if by her own forming hands quite as much as by geology. These are not depictions; they are remakes in painting terms. Intensely near to us in O'Keeffe's picture space, they seem to have both weight and insubstantiality. Like good homemade loaves of bread, after rigorous kneading they rise lightly. If the gigantic only seems all the more monumental for being reduced, the same happens in reverse, when something actually small is enlarged by O'Keeffe. The flower becomes cosmic.

She once said that she generally painted only what she knew well. She painted from certainty, knowledge, familiarity. But, all the same, her matter-of-factness is at the service of some very strange images. Even an apple or an oak leaf can become far from ordinary, a figment in a dream, superreal. Paintings that to her were unmistakably portraits, to the rest of the world look like purely abstract works.

Her own words about her work were often spare, rather fragmentary, or simply factual. But some of the things she said were still much more illuminating than the purple passages or Freudian interpretations of many other writers. This was what she had to say concerning the color blue, for example, when writing about her paintings of pelvic bones: "They were most wonderful against the Blue – that Blue that will always be there as it is now after all man's destruction is finished." Few words, but immensely revealing.

THE historian of American art Charles C. Eldredge, compiled the book that accompanies the traveling show. In his long essay, while certainly concluding that O'Keeffe was one of those artists who manages to stand outside the trends and waves of her period, he endeavors to place her in context. He points out that in her youth Art Nouveau was ubiquitous, and it is clear that she owes something to the fluent, vegetative swirls and meanders of that style. Yet she made it serve her unique vision, using it for ends quite different from those of its proponents in the 1890s.

Late in her career, O'Keeffe said she felt that she had never done better than her early work, and the formal ideas that she conceived then fed her response to nature – her continual study – throughout her life.

She was a risk taker, determined to openly make her art something entirely her own. Eldredge quotes from a letter she wrote to a friend that describes this: "I look at what I've done and fear for myself – in an odd way – because it's mine and isn't quite like other things – Always a feeling of walking too near the edge of something."

This feeling of being on the edge is transmitted by many of her paintings to the viewer in intriguingly destabilizing ways. The 1929 painting "The Lawrence Tree" is a marvelous case in point. In the London exhibit it is hung so that the base of its trunk is in the top left-hand corner of the painting. This is apparently the way O'Keeffe intended it to be. It

The Reverie of a Gardener In Springtime Belfast

Nothing is so beautiful as Spring –
When weeds, on wheels, shoot long and lovely and lush.

THE poet Gerard Manley Hopkins had a lyrical and romantic way of heralding spring, but he certainly cannot have been a dedicated gardener! Weeds may indeed "shoot long and lovely and lush," but dandelions, daisies, and other associated intruders that so disfigure lawns and flowerbeds are not particularly welcome or romantic harbingers of spring to down-to-earth gardeners like me.

In such a mood of philosophical rectitude, I sat in a comfortable old chair in my garden in Belfast last evening, in the gathering dusk, and watched the last light fade on the western horizon. It had been a glorious day by Northern Irish standards, with a warm, rather than hot, sun radiating heat from a cloudless sky and reassuring the tender plants that it had been worth their while to have made that daring push through the hard earth that still had traces of the cold Irish winter.

The mellow warmth hung in the dusk air as if to reassure the garden and the gardener that this had been no one-day wonder and that spring really had arrived. There was something very special, too, about the evening light on that western seaboard that filled the sky long after darkness had fallen over continental Europe. I recalled, with affection and amusement, the amazement of a university colleague visiting from historic and beautiful Siena in Italy who had been rendered speechless with wonder at a similarly long Irish sunset in spring.

As I ruminated to myself on old friendships and the words of much-loved poets including Hopkins, the peace of my garden was a solace for the pain of the world. Realistically I knew that not far from my back-garden in Belfast there were most probably police and Army road checks in place to try to prevent terrorist bombs being smuggled into the heart of the city. The possibility of swift and deadly violence, as always, was present – though no worse than in a score of American or European cities. But the headlines about violent Belfast have become such a cliché that the world expects little else from this much-publicized area of conflict.

Yet, as I savored the lingering light on this first real day of our Irish spring, the sense of peace in my garden – in the middle of troubled Belfast – was profound. Perhaps the peace was not only geographical. It was internal, a peace based on the seasonal reminder that however harsh or long the winter, there is always a rustle of spring. In our climate, it can last for three weeks or only three days, but its mellow warmth, its cloudless skies, and its long sunsets are a reassurance that quickens the spirit as it banishes the winter darkness for another year.

My dusk reverie was further enhanced by the rich evensong of a blackbird that had perched on a large copper-beech tree at the bottom of our garden and announced to its audience that whatever was wrong in the economy, or the global warming, or with the sad, warring humanity of Beirut, Bosnia, Belfast, and so many other places, all was right with the world.

AS the beautiful sounds enriched the peaceful garden, I was reminded too of an eminent professor of music who suggested most persuasively on television, and with technical evidence, that a humble blackbird does not trill aimlessly but that its sound can be as unique and as creative as a snatch of Beethoven or Brahams. Certainly this blackbird that used my garden as a platform for its evening recital pronounced a perfect epilogue to this memorable day, with that first rustle of spring. Perhaps Gerard Manley Hopkins was right – nothing *is* so beautiful as spring, weeds and all. And as I slipped indoors after my evening meditation, some words from another Hopkins poem, "God's Grandeur" spoke to me:

The world is charged with the grandeur of God...
And for all this, nature is never spent;
There lives the dearest freshness deep down things;
And though the last lights off the black West went
Oh, morning, at the brown brink eastward, springs –
Because the Holy Ghost over the bent
World broods with warm breast and with ah! bright wings.

Alf McCreary

Our Guide

NOWADAYS when I have to drive to meetings, I have learned to make a habit of turning to God for direction. Oh, I still use a map, but there are things maps hadn't helped me with—like improving my ability to get to the meetings on time, being considerate to other drivers, and not becoming weary. All these things are easier since I've begun to look for, and follow, the path designed by God, divine Love! It wasn't always like this. But it wasn't until I caught myself blaming a slow driver for my lateness to a meeting that I realized that I was on the wrong track and needed to change my approach!

In the Bible, Paul asked in his letter to the Galatians: "Ye did run well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth?" Thinking about Paul's question, I realized it was my own self-justification, not the other driver, that was hindering me. And I could see that I needed to be more obedient to God's law in even the tiniest details of my life if I wanted to strengthen my ability to follow God in the path to eternal life. I wasn't doing as good a job of loving God, and loving my neighbor as myself, as I needed to—and wanted to. Reviewing the situation alone in the car one day, I saw clearly that I was not loving or cherishing God, good, nor being particularly loving to the other driver, my neighbor. In fact, I recognized with a shock, I actually didn't even enjoy my *own* company when it was the company of an anxious person running against time!

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Christ Jesus spoke of and lived the rule of loving God and our neighbor as ourselves for our benefit. His example assures us that we have the ability to do so also. And this spiritually-based ability is strengthened as we leave behind the notion that we are limited, vulnerable mortals and recognize our genuine nature as the children of God, Love. The likeness of divine Love—which is what we truly are—is a loving and caring child. This child or ideal of Love is receptive and obedient to Christ. So, as I began to see more clearly, the Christ-spirit is always, and in all ways, guiding our thought. Nothing can hinder our obedience to its divine direction.

Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of this newspaper, points out that following Christ Jesus is the way. And she also tells us some of what to expect on our journey. In *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, for example, she writes of Christian Science: "Science reveals the glorious possibilities of immortal man, forever unlimited by the mortal senses. The Christ-element in the Messiah made him the Way-shower, Truth and Life." Spiritual man, ever conscious of divine Love, is unrestricted by time, space, or person. The material senses would try to tempt me to believe that traffic, construction, or other delays could bring about anxiety or conflict. Heeding the direction of Christ, however, has brought me the peace and safety I need to travel efficiently.

It takes practice to do this consistently. But the practical Christ is always ready to give me the guidance I need for a peaceful trip. This may take form as a calm inclination to leave an hour earlier or—as has often happened—people who know where I am going will have just been there and can tell me the best route.

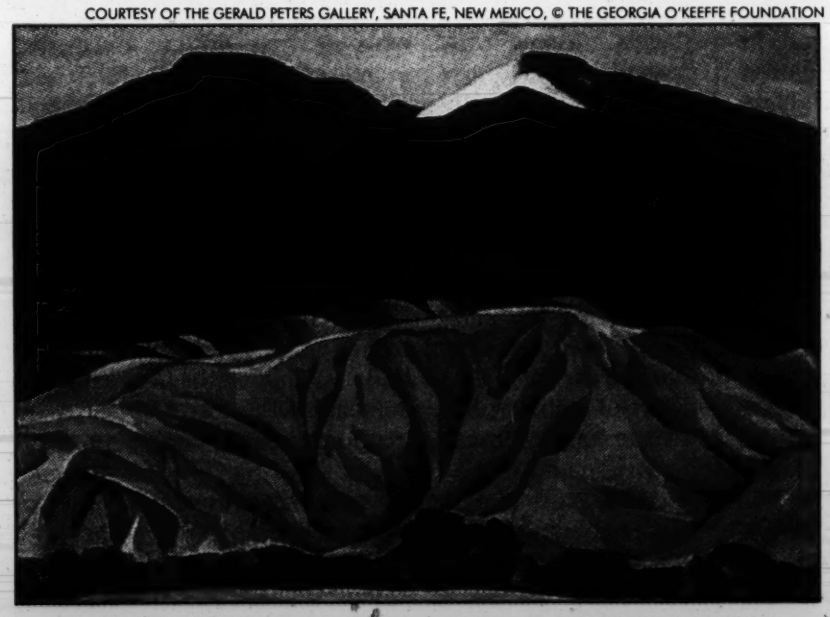
There is no power to stop us from running "well," from obeying the truth that God's entire creation is competent and loving. This true concept is something we can turn to for guidance right now. And as we depart from the self-justification and self-righteousness that would keep us from following God's direction, we journey safely—and wisely—and arrive at peace.

is the way it is also hung when at home in the permanent collection of the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Conn. But in Eldredge's book, it has been deliberately reproduced with the foot of the tree bottom right, because it has been exhibited in this much more conventional way many times in spite of O'Keeffe's original intention.

Hung the artist's way, it has a dizzying effect on viewers, who feels as if they have had to twist around suddenly and bend over in order to look up and up the tree as it surges and twists into its own dark mass against the starry sky. It is just what one feels when faced with something incredibly high but very near at hand. Only Georgia O'Keeffe would have had the peculiar originality to make a painting with this kind of disorienting energy.

Christopher Andreae

COURTESY OF THE GERALD PETERS GALLERY, SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, © THE GEORGIA O'KEEFFE FOUNDATION



'VIEW FROM MY STUDIO, NEW MEXICO (BLACK MESA; OUT BACK OF MARIE'S II; LANDSCAPE NEAR H & M RANCH, TOWARD ABIQUIQ, NEW MEXICO)' (1930): *Oil on canvas, 29.7 by 15.8 in., by Georgia O'Keeffe. The paintings reproduced here are part of 'Georgia O'Keeffe: American and Modern,' a show at London's Hayward Gallery until June 27. The exhibit will then travel to Mexico City (El Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes, July 15 to Oct. 1) and Yokohama (Yokohama Museum of Art, Oct. 30 to Jan. 16, 1994).*

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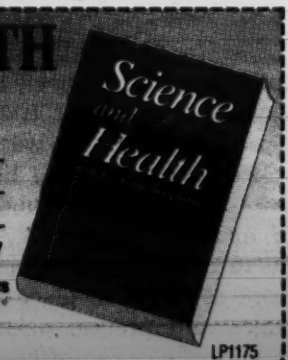


"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

'Fair' *and* 'Shared'

PRESIDENT Clinton heads into the most difficult week of his young administration as the US House takes up the tax portion of his deficit-reduction package.

With a revolt under way among several Senate Democrats, which could have a bearing on the House vote, the president would do well to remember two concepts he helped reinforce during the campaign: "fair" and "shared."

The rebellion, led by Sens. David Boren (D) of Oklahoma and Bennett Johnston (D) of Louisiana, while nominally focused on eliminating the president's proposed energy tax and capping automatic increases in entitlement spending, is as much about breaking free of tired formulas for dealing with deficits as it is about the clout of the energy lobby in Washington.

For years, Republicans have shunned – in rhetoric if not in fact – tax increases as a means of deficit reduction, while many Democrats have shied away from cuts or caps on the growth in entitlement programs, such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid, which now make up roughly half the budget. Mr. Clinton's budget director, Leon Panetta, early recognized the need to overcome the impasse by noting that his preference would be to find $2 in cuts for every $1 in tax increases. Clinton's budget, as proposed, offers $1 in tax increases for every $1 in spending cuts. Senator Boren's plan would bring the ratio closer to Mr. Panetta's, even if it does look like "politics as usual" for a senator from an energy state to find a reason not to support an energy tax.

In his weekly radio address on Saturday, Clinton criticized his opponents, saying, "It's simply wrong for a powerful interest to try and opt out of this program."

Yet "powerful interests" also have been at work to maintain entitlement programs. Just as Clinton is correct in seeking sacrifice from special interests most affected by an energy tax, Boren and his colleagues also are correct to ask that spending cuts also be more fairly distributed across federal programs; all entitlements are not created equal.

EDITORIALS

Clinton's discomfort in the face of Boren's criticisms is understandable: They are forcing the president to confront not only his campaign promises ($3 dollar in cuts for each $1 in new taxes), but his political roots in the "New Democrats" movement, many of whose members feel that the president is drifting too far to the left.

Room for compromise exists and is being exploited. The energy lobby aside, economists dispute the value of an energy tax. It would be tragic for Clinton's presidency if ineffective action this year left Americans in the year 2000 with entitlement payments taking up half the federal budget while interest on the federal debt took up another quarter.

Sorting the US Trash Pile

WHEN Terri Swearingen chained herself last week to a concrete block in front of the White House to demonstrate her opposition to the licensing of a huge incinerator near her home in Chester, W.Va., she was venting frustration that many Americans have felt – even as they add their weekly deposits to the community landfill or the dump.

Mrs. Swearingen will not soon see her protest goal fulfilled. The Waste Technology Industries incinerator looms across the Ohio River, in East Liverpool, Ohio – just 1,100 feet from an elementary school. Like many other incinerators in the US, it will soon be burning refuse, including hazardous materials such as dioxin. Testers say virtually all dioxin and other such wastes will be eliminated in the Ohio facility. Ironically, dioxin was not burned in the testing process; substances with similar characteristics were substituted. (That tells us something about how toxic it is.)

But Swearingen and fellow members of Greenpeace, one of the most militant of American environmentalist groups, can claim a broader victory: The administration in Washington, with Carol Browner as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, has announced what it terms a "rigorous program" of inspection and controls, including an 18-month moratorium on burning capacity and the issuance of new building permits. Facilities deemed unsafe will be shut down. Some 355 incinerators are involved. No permits to build new facilities are to be issued during that time.

This is a major step in the right direction, but there is a lot of undoing ahead. Since the 1950s Americans have pretty much taken for granted that waste disposal could be handled by advancing technology. Now they are finding out just how difficult and costly it will be. The Clinton-Gore administration at least seems committed, as promised in their campaign, to finding the problems and seeking solutions.

It won't be easy; it will be costly. It is likely to require basic changes in current lifestyles. The packaged, throw-away society may have to forgo some amenities, but our heirs will thank us for it.

US Should Not Snub Pakistan

By Thomas P. Thornton

FOR the third time in five years, the president of Pakistan has dismissed a prime minister who still had a majority in parliament. In none of the three cases were the dismissed prime ministers respected enough to cause public outrage. Pakistan's politicians have exploited Islamic slogans in ways that endanger the rights of women and of religious minorities. Its social policies – population control, health, and education – are backward. And it is the base for operations of Muslim extremists, including perhaps the individual who shot two American Central Intelligence Agency officials last Jan. 28.

Now CIA director James Woolsey has threatened Pakistan with being branded a state that supports international terrorism. This would put Pakistan in the same category as Libya, Iran, Iraq, and Syria and require a reduction of US diplomatic presence and opposition to all lending to Pakistan by institutions such as the World Bank. But Pakistan is not a lost cause. During the 1980s, the US trumpeted Pakistan as a "front-line state." Only Israel and Egypt received more US aid; we took in stride the fact that Zia's Pakistan was a military dictatorship; American presidents regularly certified that the Pakistanis did not have nuclear weapons.

We were silent about Islamabad's support of terrorist insurgents in the Indian state of Punjab. Only when the Soviets left Afghanistan and we did not need Pakistan any more did we strike it from our list of aid recipients because of its renegade nuclear program.

Now the cold war is over and we have the luxury of thinking through what kind of relationship we want to have. We cannot and should not develop an intimate relationship with Pakistan; there is too much that divides us. Our primary ties in South Asia should be with India. The days of huge aid budgets are surely past. Pakistan is, however, a large and very important country that plays a key role in the Muslim world – a place where we need friends. We need to get beyond the disillusion and embitterment that have characterized US-Pakistan relations and find a middle ground where we can build a relationship that meets specific, limited mutual interests.

Declaring Pakistan a terrorist state is not the way to start. If Mr. Woolsey knows that Pakistan is behind the bombings in Bombay or perhaps even of the World Trade Center, or that Islamabad is still giving significant support to terrorists in Indian Punjab, let the case be made. But there is no public evidence that Pakistan is a Syria, much less an Iraq or Libya, nor that the Pakistani government is connected to anti-American terrorism.

Apparently the issue is Pakistani support to insurgents in the Indian part of Kashmir. The international status of Kashmir is unsettled and the Pakistanis are supporting an insurgency there that is essentially indigenous, drawing on legitimate complaints about rule from New Delhi.

Pakistan is playing a dangerous game but it believes it is assisting legitimate freedom fighters – much the same as we were doing in Angola, Kampuchea, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. Now, as then, the line between freedom fighter and terrorist is vague.

Americans overreact to the word "terrorist" and are becoming conditioned to see Islam as threatening. We must look for ways to keep channels open to the majority of Muslims, who want to remain friendly. Secretary of State Warren Christopher should withstand pressures to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. If a poorly-drafted law leaves him no choice, the law should be changed.

■ *Thomas P. Thornton is an adjunct professor of Asian studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.*

Save Land to Protect Biological Diversity

The author of the article "Heading Off Clashes Over At-Risk Species," May 3, is right on the mark in his analysis of the threats to biological diversity and the need to reduce our reliance on the Endangered Species Act.

Saving species means saving land. Although the public lands, including national forests and wildlife refuges, provide essential habitat for fish and wildlife, these areas alone will not suffice if we are to retain all our native species. If we hope to conserve biodiversity and avoid the need to continue adding to the endangered species list, we must encourage conservation of habitat on private lands.

LETTERS

Of particular importance are private lands linking larger blocks of public lands. They provide migration routes and thus prevent the isolation of wildlife populations – which too often leads to erosion of the gene pool and eventually extinction.

To encourage landowners to help create a network of habitat that we call "lifelands," there must be a system of tax incentives and other inducements. We hope to foster a debate on the most promising options for rewarding landowners for their conservation efforts.

Mark Shaffer *Washington*
Vice President
Resource Planning and Economics
The Wilderness Society

Wisdom in stockpiling?

In the Opinion page article "Egypt Faces Pressure From Islamic Neighbors," April 26, the author suggests that strategic cooperation with Egypt "might include the stockpiling of American military hardware in Egypt for use by either country in case of emergency."

The list of countries to which we have sold or given military equipment that has later been taken over by the opposition and used against a more liberal government – and/or against the United States – is too long to enumerate.

Are we still seriously considering such suggestions? Would stockpiling it be any safer?

Doris F. Sutter *San Rafael, Calif.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

Tighter Controls Needed On Spread of Land Mines

By Mark Sommer

THE act of planting seed to bring forth life has seldom been more callously violated than in the placing of land mines in the earth's fertile soil. Left concealed underground for decades after the peace treaties have been signed and the cannons silenced, these buried bombs leave their tragic legacy with abandon.

Their low cost (as little as $7 to $10 apiece), widespread availability, and ease of installation have made them the weapon of choice in the developing world. There they are used in vast numbers by both governments and guerrillas not only to protect populations but to prevent enemy peoples from tilling the fields on which their livelihoods depend. One million acres along the Zambia-Zimbabwe border have been virtually abandoned due to mines seeded during Zimbabwe's war of independence two decades ago. In Angola, 20 million land mines litter one-third of the nation's territory, maiming 20,000 citizens. In Somalia, large numbers of peasants remain dependent on global relief agencies, in part because they cannot return to fields saturated with land mines.

A recent State Department survey revealed mine pollution problems in 56 countries, 37 of which don't have sufficient resources to deal with them on their own. An estimated 4 million mines lie buried by all factions in Cambodia (one for every two people in a nation the size of Missouri), and 10 million in Afghanistan, where at present rates of removal it will take 4,300 years to clear them from 20 percent of the country.

Though land mines have been used since World War I, they have become an issue of public concern only in the past few years. But momentum for a ban has since been building rapidly. The impetus for action first came from Vietnam veterans, helping to rehabilitate people maimed by mines in Cambodia and Central America. Joining forces with Medico International, a German citizens' organization monitoring the conventional-arms trade, the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation launched an International Campaign to Ban Land Mines in November 1991, which quickly spread to citizens' groups in Britain, France, Sweden, and the Netherlands. In addition to calling for a ban on the production, use, and proliferation of land mines, the campaign proposes the establishment of a United Nations fund for the eradication of minefields and for compensation of victims, to be financed by nations exporting land mines.

Current restrictions on land mines are few and ineffectual. A 1983 UN convention on conventional weapons that are "excessively injurious or have indiscriminate effects" has been signed by 50 nations. It calls for mines to be used only where a military objective exists, requires the mapping of mine fields, and prohibits use of mines containing materials that can escape detection by X-rays. Unfortunately, these terms have proven unenforceable. Increasingly, mines are made of plastics that can't be seen in X-rays, which makes it difficult to medically treat people injured by mines. And despite the convention, the trade in land mines continues to rise dramatically. Moreover, several major nations that have signed have declined to ratify the convention, including the United States, Britain, Germany, and Italy. Of the 35 nations currently manufacturing land mines, the leading producers are the former Soviet Union, Italy, Belgium, and France. However, French President François Mitterrand recently pledged to cease exporting them.

Though the US has declined to ratify the convention, it has recently led the way for other nations by unilaterally restraining its international trade in land mines. At the behest of the Vietnam Veterans Foundation, in October 1992 Sen. Patrick Leahy (D) of Vermont and Rep. Lane Evans (D) of Illinois persuaded Congress to pass a one-year moratorium on the US export of antipersonnel mines. This year they hope to extend the moratorium for several more years while committing the Clinton administration to push for an international agreement to ban or restrict the trade in land mines.

The 10th anniversary of the 1983 UN convention occurs in December. To mark the occasion, France is calling for a review conference to strengthen the convention's provisions. The European Parliament recently passed a "Motion for a Resolution" asking all member states to agree to a five-year moratorium on the sale, transfer, or export of antipersonnel mines.

Next to nuclear weapons and other massively destructive arms, land mines look like an afterthought. But while the threat of nuclear weapons is abstract and all-encompassing, the fact of land mines is tangible and immediate. At the very least, nations that manufacture and sell these weapons, along with those who placed them in the ground, must be charged with the financial burden of extracting and deactivating the devices and providing care for those wounded by them.

■ *Mark Sommer is a research associate in the Peace and Conflict Studies Program at the University of California at Berkeley.*

STAFF

Live War Mines Around the World

There may be more than 100 million uncleared mines in the world. British and US militaries estimate up to 200 million. Some of the countries affected include:

- **AFGHANISTAN:** A program to clear approximately 10 million mines was started in 1989; by the end of 1992 only 68 square kilometers had been cleared; 19 removal team members were killed and 62 wounded.
- **ANGOLA:** In Lunda Sul province, 30 major bridges and 58 secondary bridges are down and cannot be repaired until surrounding minefields are cleared.
- **CAMBODIA:** To clear some 4.5 million mines at a cost of $1,000 each, it will take the equivalent of more than three years of the country's entire GDP.
- **FALKLANDS-MALVINAS:** Mine clearance from the war that lasted only two months has been so difficult that it had to be abandoned.
- **NICARAGUA:** An official count shows one mine for every 30 people.
- **LIBYA:** The UN suspects that 68 percent of all arable land contains mines from World War II.

Source: Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation

New US Partnership With the Japanese

By Lee H. Hamilton

WHEN Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan met recently with President Clinton, the two leaders put aside diplomatic niceties and concentrated on one issue: trade. The candor of the White House talks illustrate how economics, not security, holds center stage in the relationship.

Some American complaints about Japan are justified. Japan's economy is more closed to imports than ours. In construction, transportation, agriculture, services, paper, glass, and retailing sectors, United States firms are globally competitive but have a small market share in Japan, due to regulations and business practices that exclude our exports. American firms attempting to crack the Japanese market by investing there face several barriers. There are political problems, too. Japan has been slow to shoulder an international role equal to its economic clout. Japan's ability to operate in the global arena has been weakened by political scandals and strife. But Japan has reasonable complaints about the US.

The chief cause of the US trade deficit with Japan is our tendency to consume more than we save. Japanese note the US has import barriers on textiles, autos, and steel. They are also bothered that the US sometimes expects Tokyo to shoulder international responsibilities without being consulted in advance.

Some argue the end of the Soviet threat means that Washington no longer needs Tokyo's security cooperation and that we should use hardball tactics to end Japan's trade surplus with the US. I reject this view. Both sides still have much to gain from a reinvigorated relationship. The economic benefits are substantial. Japan, our second largest export market, spent $48 billion on US goods last year. Japanese firms provide American consumers with high-quality, competitively priced consumer goods. They invested $318 billion in factories and real estate in the US from 1982 to 1990, supporting tens of thousands of jobs.

US-Japan cooperation fosters peace and stability in trouble spots. Both want to stop North Korea from getting nuclear weapons and to resolve international disputes in Indochina and the South China Sea. Japan has hosted US forces for 40 years. US and Japanese forces patrol the sea lanes, giving confidence to the trading nations of Asia and protecting US economic interests.

Japan is taking the lead in the reconstruction of Cambodia and has sent peacekeeping troops to assist the United Nations operation. Japan could also lead in fashioning multilateral responses to environmental degradation, disease, population, and disaster relief. In recognition of Japan's growing global role, the US should support a permanent seat for Japan on the UN Security Council.

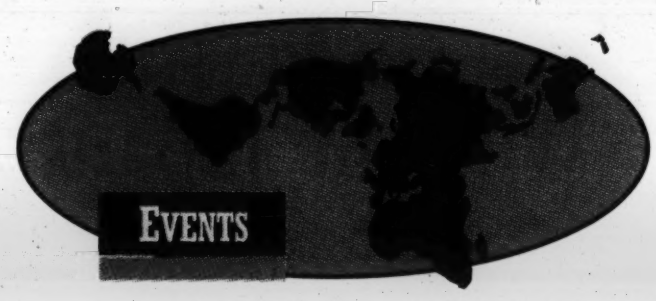
We also should acknowledge the consequences if our ties deteriorate. If the US starts a trade war with Japan and washes its hands of security problems in Asia, Japan would probably rearm, producing a dangerous arms buildup throughout Asia.

The key question is how to manage the economic tensions that threaten to undermine this beneficial relationship. The Japanese government should do more to stimulate its economy, which will increase Japan's imports. Mr. Miyazawa has made a good start in this direction. To create a more level playing field, Japan must also open its market to products and become more open to foreign investment.

The US must increase savings, decrease consumption – and reduce the deficit. We also need to invest in human resources. Together, the US and Japan account for 40 percent of the world's GNP. It is in our mutual interest to coordinate macroeconomic policies. Japan should become an engine of growth for the developing world, as the US has been for decades.

The US-Japan relationship has been a cornerstone of stability in Asia. We have much to gain from our mutual political, economic, and cultural ties. Our governments should build a partnership of global leadership and shared responsibility.

■ *Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D) of Indiana is chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.*



LATEST PEACE PLAN CALLED UNACCEPTABLE

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic yesterday called a peace formula presented by the United States and its allies "totally unacceptable" and said his government will not participate in any "futile negotiations." In a statement read to reporters, Mr. Izetbegovic said the formula agreed to Saturday in Washington rewards Bosnian Serb aggression. "The aggressor is not going to withdraw from the occupied territories," he said. "And our people who have been evicted will not be allowed to return to their homes."

Iranian maneuvers

Iranian troops with armor and warplanes staged what Tehran called military maneuvers on the southern border with Iraq yesterday in the wake of attacks by Baghdad-based rebels. The official Islamic Republic News Agency said 8,000 infantry from the Revolutionary Guards Corps and an armored brigade, backed by artillery, helicopters and fighter jets, are taking part.

They were ostensibly to commemorate the May 24, 1982, liberation of the port city of Khorramshahr, 18 months after it had been captured by Iraqis.

Cambodia elections

Despite threats by Khmer Rouge guerrillas, one-third of Cambodia's eligible voters eagerly pushed their way into polling stations Sunday on the first day of elections for a democratic government. UN officials said between 1.5 million and 2 million people voted Sunday in the country's first multiparty elections in two decades. The UN-organized election ends Friday.

Venezuelan president

Economic analysts are predicting that the suspension of Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez will stall free-market reform, but won't hurt Venezuela's vital oil industry and foreign investment.

The Senate ordered a Supreme Court trial for Perez on Friday on charges of embezzling $17.2 million. Its action removed him from office during legal proceedings. He could face up to three years in prison if convicted.

Afghanistan peace

Two weeks of fighting in and around the Afghan capital stopped yesterday, as Muslim guerrillas began adhering to the cease-fire their leaders signed last week. After daily barrages of about 80 rockets, only sporadic fighting and a few rocket strikes were reported in Kabul on Saturday and yesterday.

Shooting trial

In Baton Rouge, La., the man on trial for fatally shooting a Japanese exchange student gave his account Saturday, saying he felt threatened and he "felt I had no other choice."

Rodney Peairs is charged with manslaughter in the death of 16-year-old Yoshi Hattori, who knocked on Mr. Peairs' door while looking for a party Oct. 17. The case attracted international attention.

German strike settled

Negotiators for east German steelworkers and employers reached agreement early yesterday on a new contract to end a three-week strike. Under the deal, the wages of about 20,000 steelworkers in the former East Germany would gradually be raised to the levels of their western counterparts by April 1, 1996.

Eastern steelworkers' salaries are at 60 percent of western levels. More than 40,000 eastern metalworkers and steelworkers walked out of their jobs three weeks ago after employers scrapped an agreement that promised them western wages by next year.

BU prospects TV channel

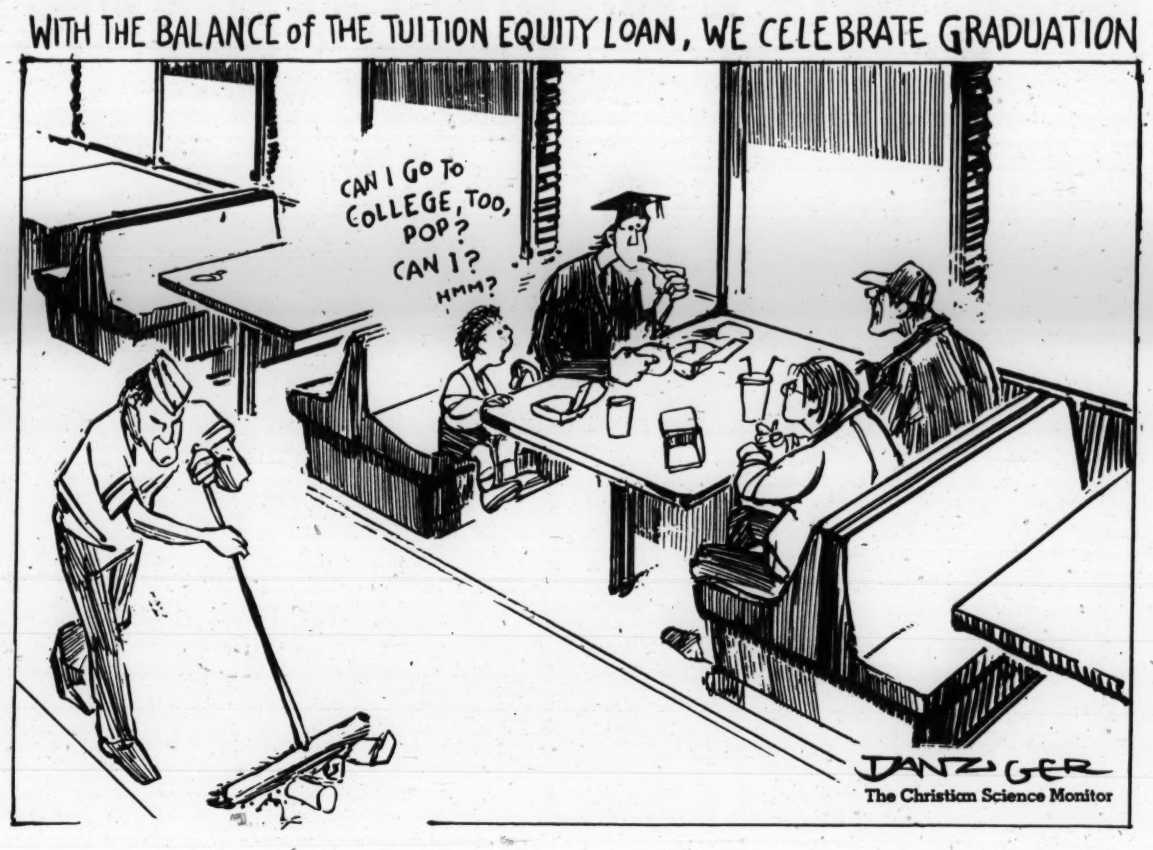
Boston University is exploring the possibility of acquiring WQTV, Channel 68, which is currently owned by The Christian Science Monitor Television Inc. The university is presently in a "due diligence" period of the discussion, studying all aspects of the proposition.

Chinese bonds

Unable to attract voluntary buyers for its treasury bonds, the Chinese government ordered state and private enterprises to purchase $1.05 billion of them, The China Daily Business Weekly said yesterday.

Most enterprises will, in turn, require their employees to buy some of the bonds. The government needs the income to build infrastructure projects.

– Compiled by Terri Theiss


WITH THE BALANCE of THE TUITION EQUITY LOAN, WE CELEBRATE GRADUATION
CAN I GO TO COLLEGE, TOO, POP? CAN I? HMM?
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

Social Change Sweeps the Heartland

WISCONSIN from page 1

Wisconsin's slump does not look temporary. Many older farmers are retiring. A recent dip in milk prices has forced out many operators. And, economists point out, Wisconsin dairy farms have not invested in new technology as California producers have.

Dairying is "no longer the religious experience of being a dairy farmer," says Ed Coughlin of the National Milk Producers Federation. "If you're going to stay in the dairy business, you'd better get efficient."

Governor Thompson agrees. In March, he launched Dairy 2020. The initiative aims to speed up the transfer of new technology and management practices. "We have been saying: 'That was good enough for grandfather and father and we are going to do it the same way.' And we can't do that anymore," he says.

The big question is: Will farmers listen?

In answer, Dean Doornink's dairy farm stands out. Instead of the traditional wooden barn, he has built large steel structures. In the place of grain silos, he has four long concrete bays. Mr. Doornink milks 295 cows, and he hopes to double that total within five years.

"This is cow No. 369," he says, walking into the large milking parlor and reading from a computer attached to a stall.

The system looks a lot like airport security. Cows enter through an electronic gate, which reads the cards they wear. The gate transmits the information to a stall. If a cow needs special attention, the operator can automatically shunt the animal to a special holding area as she leaves the parlor.

A modern Midwestern farm might have eight noncomputerized stalls used perhaps six hours a day. This parlor has 20 computerized stalls running 18 hours a day.

"The typical Wisconsin farm with 50 cows and a tie-stall barn won't be able to compete with California," Doornink says. Either dairy farmers expand their herd and adopt new technology as he has, or they cut costs dramatically and use alternative farming practices. Either way, he says, dairy farmers are going to have to manage much more intensively.

When Wisconsin farmers are not milking, they are tending crops. California dairymen typically buy their feed and manage hired workers.

A few miles away, Wayne Loock walks into his 48-cow milking barn. He operates the place pretty much as his father did. The barn's first row of stanchions date from before 1947. He and his son Greg milk 55 cows. He is debt-free.

"I don't think we need those kinds of operations," he says of the Doornink farm. He worries that it will hurt the environment and clog the roads. But most of all he's concerned about its economic effect. "Small farms definitely add more input to the local economy than one big one," he says.

This opposition is more than casual. Mr. Loock is chairman of the Rush River Township, which has required Doornink to do extensive ground water monitoring and has kept an eye on how he handles the farm's huge volumes of manure.

Nonfarm neighbors have complained about odors, but Doornink says his biggest opposition has come from other dairy farmers.

Modernization means social change.

"There was a time when you didn't have to run the farm as a business," says Greg Steele, local loan officer with Farm Credit Services. But "if you manage more resources, it's a necessity. It means you buy your inputs from the person who gives you the best bid. If that's the local guy, that's great. It if isn't, it comes from somewhere else."

None of this will come all at once, Mr. Steele adds. Most young farmers who expand are growing in stages. They may buy a traditional 40-cow milking barn but double the herd and milk in two shifts.

That means Wisconsin will probably change too slowly to keep California from becoming America's dairy land. But Thompson isn't ready to change the state license plate just yet. "That's admitting defeat," he says.